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2

ARAMAIC EPIGRAPHS ON CLAY TABLETS OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

BY

FREDERICK MARIO FALES

ROMA

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI "LA SAPIENZA"

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GIOVANNI GARBINI

CON IL CONTRIBUTO DEL MINISTERO DELLA PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE

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1

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A B B R E V I A T I O N S

ABC = J. Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts with Aramaic Reference Notes*, Chicago 1901.

ABL = R.F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, I–XIV, London–Chicago 1892–1914.

ACF = *Annali di Ca Foscari. Serie orientale.*

Acta Antiqua = *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.* Budapest.

ADB = C.H.W. Johns, *An Assyrian Doomsday Book or Liber Censualis of the District Round Harran in the Seventh Century B.C.*, Leipzig 1901.

ADD = C.H.W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, I–II, Cambridge 1908–1901.

AfO = *Archiv für Orientforschung.*

AfO Bh. = *Archiv für Orientforschung. Beiheft.*

AGS = J.A. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, I–II, Leipzig 1893.

AHw. = W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, I–III, Wiesbaden 1965–1981.

AION = *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli.*

AJSL = *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*

A.O. = texts of the "Antiquités Orientales" collection, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

AOS = *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*

AP = A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1923.

APN = K.L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, Helsingfors 1914.

APNMT = H.A. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, Baltimore 1965.

Aramäer = S. Schiffer, *Die Aramäer. Historisch-geographische Untersuchungen*, Leipzig 1911.

ARU = J. Köhler - A. Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, Leipzig 1913.

AT = B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel*, I-II, Rome 1981.

AUA = M. Lidzbarski, *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur*, Leipzig 1921.

BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.

BiOr = *Bibliotheca Orientalis*.

BM = "British Museum" (siglum of part of the Kuyunjik Collection, British Museum, London).

BMAP = E.G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, New Haven 1953.

BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School for Oriental and African Studies*.

Bu. = "Budge" (siglum of part of the Kuyunjik Collection, British Museum, London).

CAAA = I.J. Gelb et al., *Computer-aided Analysis of Amorite*, Chicago 1980.

CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago-Glückstadt, 1956- .

CCENA = F.M. Fales, *Censimenti e catasti di epoca neo-assira*, Roma 1973.

CGSL = S. Moscati (Ed.), *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Wiesbaden 1964.

CIS II = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars II inscriptiones aramaicas continens*, Parisiis, 1889 ff.

CRAI = *Comptes rendus (des séances) de l'Academie des Inscriptions (et Belles-Lettres)(Paris)*.

CT = *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*.

DdA = *Dialoghi di Archeologia*.

Degen, *AAG* = R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1969.

DISO = C.F. Jean - J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest*, Leiden 1965.

D.T. = "Daily Telegraph" (siglum of part of the Kuyunjik Collection, British Museum, London).

EA = L. Delaporte, *Epigraphes araméens*, Paris 1912.

Ep.Ar. = F. Vattioni, *Epigrafia aramaica*, *Augustinianum* 10 (1970), pp. 493-52; 11 (1971), pp. 18-190; *Orientalia* 48 (1979), pp. 140-145: quoted by text number.

FNALD = J.N.Postgate, *Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents*, Warminster 1976.

GAG = W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik, samt Ergänzungsheft*, Rom 1969.

Garbini, *AA* = G. Garbini, *L'aramaico antico*, Roma 1956.

GPA = J.N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive*, London 1973.

HALAT = W. Baumgartner et al., *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament*, Leiden 1967- .

HNSE = M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar 1898.

IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal*.

IM = siglum of texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

IOS = *Israel Oriental Studies.*

IPN = M. Noth, *Die israelitische Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Nemengebung,* Stuttgart 1928 (repr. Hildesheim 1966)

Jastrow, *Dictionary* = M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature,* I-II, repr. New York 1950.

JANES = *The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University.*

JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*

JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.*

JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*

JSS = *Journal of Semitic Studies.*

K. = "Kuyunjik" (siglum of part of the Kuyunjik Collection, British Museum, London).

KAI = H. Donner - W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften,* I-III, Wiesbaden 1966-1969^{2}.

Kaufman, Influences = S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic,* Chicago 1974.

KAV = O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts,* Leipzig 1920.

KB = texts published in the series Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.

Kessler, *Topographie* = K. Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens,* Wiesbaden 1980.

LAS = S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal,* I: Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970; II: Neukirchen-Vluyn 1983.

Lieb(erman) = text-ordering in S.J. Lieberman, *BASOR* 192 (1968), pp. 25-30.

MDOG = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*

MsN = H.-J. Nissen - J. Renger (Eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn,* I-II, Berlin 1982.

Muffs, *Studies* = Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine,* Leiden 1969.

NAT = S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms,* Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970.

Naveh, *Script* = J. Naveh, *The Development of the Aramaic Script,* Jerusalem 1970.

ND = siglum of texts from Nimrud-Kalhu, by excavation no.

NESE = *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik.*

NPSS = J. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques,* I-II, Louvain 1934.

NWL = J.V. Kinnier-Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists,* London 1972.

O. = siglum of the texts from the Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis,Brussels.

OLA = *Orientalia Lovaniensia. Analecta* (Leuven).

OLP = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica.*

Or An = *Oriens Antiquus.*

OrNS = *Orientalia. Nova Series.*

PNPPI = F.L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions,* Rome 1972.

PRT = E. Klauber, *Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit,* Leipzig 1913.

PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology.*

Rm. = "Rassam" (siglum of part of the Kuyunjik Collection, British Museum, London).

RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali.*

SAIO = E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, I, Leuven 1975.

Segert, AAG = S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1975.

Sm. = "Smith" (siglum of part of the Kuyunjik Collection, British Museum, London).

STF = A. Abou-Assaf, P. Bordreuil, A.R. Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekherye*, Paris 1982.

Streck, Assurbanipal = M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige*, I-III, Leipzig 1916.

Studies...Finkelstein = Maria de J. Ellis (Ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob J. Finkelstein*, Hamden, Conn., 1977.

TH = siglum of the Tell Halaf Aramaic / Assyrian texts (by no.); also, = J. Friedrich - G.R. Meyer - A. Ungnad - E.F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf* (=*AfO Bh* 6), reprint Osnabrück 1967 (by page no.).

UF = *Ugarit-Forschungen.*

VA(T) = "Vorderasiatische Abteilung.(Tontafeln)",siglum of texts of the Vorderasiatisches Museum of the Staatliche Museum, Berlin.

VO = *Vicino Oriente.*

VS = texts published in the series *Vorderasiatisches Schriftdenkmäler.*

Ylvisaker, Grammatik = S.C. Ylvisaker, *Zur babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik*, Leipzig 1912.

WdO = *Die Welt des Orients.*

WSB = R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Period. An Onomastic Study*, Jerusalem 1978[2].

WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*

ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie.*

Zadok, *Jews* = R. Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achemenian Periods*, Haifa 1979.

ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

* * *

Obv. = Obverse.

Rev. = Reverse.

B.E. = Bottom Edge.

U.E. = Upper Edge.

L.H.E. = Left Hand Edge.

NA = Neo-Assyrian

NB = Neo-Babylonian

F O R E W O R D

Scope and organization

In recent years, the historical problem concerning the presence and the influence of Aramaic-speaking peoples within the Neo-Assyrian empire has been subjected to an unprecedented wealth of studies. Due in part, certainly, to the increase in general knowledge concerning Assyria in the 9th-7th centuries B.C., and also due to the presence of wider theoretical frameworks for the problems posed than in previous periods, the subject-matter that I would term "Assyro-aramaica" has enjoyed, and is enjoying, a phase of indubitable expansion. As far as text editions are concerned, the most recent years stand out primarily in view of the discovery and rapid publication of the Assyrian-Aramaic bilingual statue from Tell Fekheriye / Sikani[1]; but other, no less important, materials have also seen the light - some of which are taken up in the present volume. Secondary studies on the purely linguistic evidence pertaining to the Assyrian-Aramaic relationship should probably be mentioned next, as also very abundant and extremely important: thus, the last twenty years have provided works on the loanwords from Aramaic to Akkadian and from Akkadian to Aramaic; research on particular branches of this "cross-referential" terminology, such as the sphere of law and the sphere of political institutions; and

1. Cf. *STF* for the *editio princeps* of the statue.

finally, an abundance of investigations on proper names, from anthroponyms to toponyms. This linguistic material has already been subjected to a few comprehensive reviews[2]. Less developed, on the whole, is the purely historical aspect concerning the Assyrian-Aramaic interrelation: as regards most recent results, however, both specific and general works have been produced, while a few sets of problems have been examined in the context of investigations concerning the Neo-Assyrian empire in toto[3].

This work means to connect itself to the present-day flourishing of studies on "Assyro-aramaica", since it is concerned with an up-to-date presentation of all Aramaic epigraphs on clay tablets dating from the Neo-Assyrian period which have been published, in one form or another, in the literature. Aramaic being my second love, but a strong competitor with my first one, Neo-Assyrian, I have attempted throughout the book to deal with the very problem, and with the implications, of the co-existence of these two languages on single texts. In the introductory pages which follow (Part One), I deal in general with the context in which the West Semitic alphabetic texts are to be envisaged: foremost, in the light of the different typologies of texts on which they are attested, then from the viewpoint of linguistic theory, and finally with regard to the paleographical and chronological probems which surround them.

Part Two is instead concerned with the actual (re-)edition and

2. The reader is referred to sections 2.1 an 2.2 of the introduction, below, for greater detail on this point, and bibliography.

3. See, e.g., B.Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, Wiesbaden 1979; I.Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs*, Jerusalem 1984[2].

analysis of the corpus itself: transliterations and translations, contextual and philological notes are here provided for all 61 documents, which are divided into five sections (A - E). The first and most extended of such sections is formed by the 42 Aramaic inscriptions on clay tablets proceeding from the archives of Kuyunjik / Nineveh. As is well known, most of the Assyrian-Aramaic texts from this site were published in volume form as long ago as 1902 (Stevenson) and then again in 1912 (Delaporte); the Delaporte corpus was presented anew by Vattioni in 1970, but with few improvements and, in fact, far from faultlessly[4]. Other Kuyunjik numbers relevant to Assyrian-Aramaic tablets were given by Lieberman (1968), and published by Millard (1973, 1983). All the above epigraphs, together with their cuneiform counterparts (when present), are republished in nos. 1-38 of this corpus. In addition, I provide (a) the edition of a fragment which, although made available in copy in *AJSL* 42 (1925), had escaped all previous researchers on the Aramaic "argillary" texts of the Neo-Assyrian period, as well as (b) three texts of the *ADD* corpus, on which alphabetic script had not been previously spotted (all = nos. 39-42). All the Kuyunjik/Nineveh texts, both as regards the Aramaic and the Assyrian parts, were copied and collated at the British Museum in VII/82 and IX/83; the copies are given at the end of the volume (plates I-XII).

The smaller sections that follow (B-E) are dedicated to 29 further documents on clay (a few bullae are present among the

4. In the commentary, I have felt it necessary to dwell in extenso with alternatives and corrections to the readings in the main work by Delaporte, much less so as regards previous or secondary treatments of the material.

tablets), proceeding from other sites of the Neo-Assyrian empire: Kalhu, Guzana, Assur, and from unknown sites (= nos. 43-61). In the case of these documents, the philological work has been mainly effected on the basis of the published photographs or hand-copies: both were available for the texts from Nimrud / Kalhu (nos. 43-45), for the Berlin texts from Assur (nos. 46-52), and for one of the materials of unknown provenance (no. 60). Photographs only were published in the case of no. 58; copies only, for nos. 59 and 61; but I was kindly allowed to check nos. 58 and 59 resp. from a cast and from the original tablet.

A case unto itself was constituted by the Aramaic documents from Tell Halaf / Guzana, nos. 53-57: as is well known, the originals of these texts were lost in the course of World War II, and the sole remaining evidence for their contents is represented by 16 very faded photographs, published by Degen in 1972, and by the hand-copies of G.R.Meyer (in *AfO Bh.* 6, 1940, pl.XXX) - the latter being, however, open to more than a few problems of reading and interpretation. In the case of Guzana, therefore, the utmost has been done to "collate" copies and photographs, also in the light of the standard formulae presented by this and parallel materials - in some points with similar results, in others with variant readings and interpretations from those reached in the recent re-edition by Lipiński (1975).

Finally, section F of this part of the work, hitherto concerned with the tasks of updating and reinterpreting what was, by and large, already known, represents an attempt to stay off a fatal outdating (such as the recent rapid developments of "Assyro-aramaica" promise), at least for a small period of time. In this

section, I have given quotes from as yet u n p u b l i s h e d texts in Aramaic on clay of the Neo-Assyrian age, either obtained through the kindness of fellow researchers, or to be found in preliminary reports and versions. The former, in particular, are represented by two complete epigraphs, to which I have given Roman numerals I-II. The latter, to which I have assigned letters a-h, are passages drawn from the group of 23 Aramaic texts held in the Royal Museums of Brussels, for which publication has been announced on the part of E.Lipiński.

Acknowledgements

All thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum, for permission to study, copy, and republish the Kuyunjik material in the present volume (= nos. 1-42). I am indebted to Dr. E.Sollberger and to Messrs. T.E.Mitchell, C.B.F.Walker, I.Finkel, and K.Uprichard for their kind help, advice and technical assistance during my stay at the Museum.

I am extremely grateful to Dr. Liane Jakob-Rost, Director of the Vorderasiatisches Museum of the Staatliche Museen of Berlin, for generously sending me the photographs of texts nos. 46-52, and granting me permission to reproduce them in the present volume (pls. XV-XVII).

Many thanks are due to Dr. Pierre Bordreuil, C.N.R.S., for kindly allowing me to check my readings of text no.58 from a cast in his possession in Beirut. Also many thanks go to Miss Sabina Franke, Hamburg, concerning text no. 59 (see Part Two, fn. 217). To Dr. Bahijah K. Ismail and Mr. J.N.Postgate go my warmest thanks for

their kind permission to quote the Aramaic epigraphs and random Assyrian words of texts I, II, two documents which are scheduled for publication in a future volume of Texts from the Iraq Museum. Prof. A.R.Millard, University of Liverpool, was kind enough to go through the entire manuscript with me, and extremely generous in his suggestions. I thank him wholeheartedly. Prof. R.Zadok, Universities of Tel Aviv and Haifa, is to be warmly thanked for kindly discussing various points of the manuscript with me, and for general encouragement, in the course of a visit to Rome. I am indebted to Professors Paul Garelli, University of Paris I, and E.Lipiński, University of Louvain, for kind advice and information concerning the Brussels Assyro-Aramaic material, which it is their task to publish. To my former student, Dr. Ezio Attardo, University of Padova, I am thankful for his kind assistance with the paleographical chart. As on past occasions, Dr. Giovanni Lanfranchi, University of Padova, has provided me with his invaluable technical aid and scientific encouragement: I cannot be thankful enough. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Giovanni Garbini, University of Rome "La Sapienza", for having agreed to publish the present book in the series Studi semitici, in the framework of an Italian Ministry of Public Education project on Aramaic lexicography during the period of his directorship.

Rome / Venice, December 1985

To Marina, my wife, this work is dedicated.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Typology of the Aramaic epigraphs

1.1. General classification

The corpus published in the present book is formed by inscriptions of different types, although they are unified by the use of the Aramaic alphabetic script on a single writing medium (clay, through direct engraving or paint application[1]) within a single geographical and chronological context, the Assyrian empire

1. Both typologies are well attested, as may be seen from the sampler reproduced in *CIS* II/1 or in the present volume. I have on the other hand not considered the small textual category of seal impressions bearing alphabetic texts as relevant to one and the same corpus as the clay tablets (of any shape) presenting a direct writing of Aramaic alphabetic script, since the former, both paleographically and contextually, should be ranged with the Aramaic seals of this age (cf. F.Vattioni, *I sigilli, le monete e gli avori aramaici*, *Augustinianum* 11 [1971],47-87; etc.).

of the 7th century B.C.. A preliminary division may be established between the texts written exclusively in alphabetic script (nos.7,9,11-13,43-44,46-58) and the texts presenting a double inscription, in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform and Aramaic. A second - and possibly more functional - division may be established between the small number of non-legal texts in the collection (nos.43,44,52, administrative; no.8, extispicy; no.45, apotropaic) and the remainder, all pertaining to the legal sphere[2].

For the latter, whether unilingual Aramaic or bilingual (in various degrees, as shall be seen), a full, or at least more precise, clarification of their compositional characteristics, of their actual contents, and of their conceptual background must be based on a preliminary assumption: that the contemporary legal material in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform script functioned as their general documentary model. In other words, a general dependence from the parallel *Rechtsurkunden* in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform must, in my opinion, act as the main guiding line for the reappraisal of these West Semitic alphabetic legal texts, in matters both of form and of substance, both of framework and of detail. This dependence, unrecognized as such - or, at least, to this extent - in previous analyses of the same material, will form the punctual object of the following sections of this introduction, as well as of many parts of the single textual commentaries.

For the moment, the postulate of dependence on the Neo-

2. The assertion by S.J.Lieberman, *BASOR* 192 (1968), 25, that "the Nineveh texts are all economic documents, save one" is terminologically erroneous - although it was correct from the quantitative point of view for the particular group under examination ibid.

Assyrian legal documents will be put to function for a preliminary division of the Aramaic epigraphs of legal content into separate groups, in accordance with the classification drawn up in recent times by J.N.Postgate[3]. For the relevant evidence in cuneiform, Postgate suggested a fourfold typology, which may be called upon *in toto* for our purposes: (a) conveyance texts (i.e. texts relevant to "the transfer of ownership of certain kinds of property"[4]), (b) contract texts ("a document which brings into existence or simply records an obligation in favour of one party and incumbent on the other"[5]), (c) receipts ("a permanent record, concluding a transaction"[6]), and (d) judicial documents[7]. The division of the Aramaic epigraphs of legal content in the present corpus according to these four categories yields the following result:

Conveyance texts

Sale of real estate: nos. 1, 10, 16, 18, 23, 29, 32, 33, 40;
Sale of persons (in families): nos. 2, 4;
Sale of persons (1-2 slaves/female slaves): nos. 14, 17, 20, 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 34, 41;
Sale of real estate + persons: no. 5;
Land leases: no. 37;
Division of inheritance: no. 61;

3. *FNALD*, 1-62.
4. Ibid., 11.
5. Ibid., 32.
6. Ibid., 55.
7. Ibid., 58.

Uncertain: nos. 19, 22, 26; 36, 38, 42.

Contract texts

Loans of corn: nos. 3, 6, 7, 9, 15, 46–49, 53–57, 59;
Loans of silver: nos. 21, 28, 35, 39, 50–51;
Pledges: no. 13;

Receipts: no. 60

Records of judicial decision: no. 58

1.2. Conveyance texts

Conveyance texts represent - as may be seen from the above list - the majority of the hitherto published documents bearing Aramaic epigraphs from the Neo-Assyrian archives. In fact, however, a consideration of the different archival segments represented in our corpus, plus what is known about the yet unpublished materials of the same type and age, may give rise to a slightly different statistical outlook. While conveyance texts are almost absent elsewhere, they are very abundant in the Nineveh/Kuyunjik group of materials: they thus reflect - although only in very general terms - the large presence of this category of legal documents in the Neo-Assyrian collection from Nineveh[8]. In the second place,

8. Cf. Köhler-Ungnad, *ARU*, passim, for the latter.

conveyance texts would seem to be virtually absent from the Brussels group of unilingual Aramaic documents (cf. 1.3, 1.4, below). With the publication of this further corpus, therefore, it is to be foreseen that conveyances will lose much of their numerical predominance within the Aramaic texts on clay from the Neo-Assyrian period.

No conveyance document with an unilingual Aramaic inscription has yet come down to us: in fact, the alphabetic epigraphs on these texts are the most reduced in size in the whole corpus, since they quite rarely exceed one line of script. The physical disposition of the Aramaic epigraphs on the rectangular tablets which are typical of Neo-Assyrian conveyance texts is also worth remarking upon in this connection. Whereas the cuneiform texts are fully written out (along the "short" axis) on both main faces, and usually on one or two of the connecting margins - in order: on the lower edge and the upper edge -, the West Semitic epigraphs are in the main confined to the margins themselves, and more often than not to the least-used left-hand edge. It is true that in one case[9] a part of the Aramaic text appears to have worked its way into the Obverse of the tablet; but it may be noticed that the relevant space had been first inscribed, and then erased, by the cuneiform scribe, since it presented an erroneous repetition of one of the standard formulae. In this case, therefore, one may perceive with even greater clarity than elsewhere that the alphabetic epigraph was written on the clay in a secondary moment in time - as the use of the "leftover" edges suggested in the remaining cases.

9. No. 14, below.

Despite the "telegraphic" brevity of the Aramaic epigraphs on conveyance documents, and the fact of having been obviously added to the cuneiform text after the full writing of the latter, the contents of such epigraphs deserve, in my opinion, detailed attention, since they yield some additional information on the documents themselves. Specifically, they tell us exactly which features of the recorded transaction were felt as necessary to be retained, and to be read in a later moment, on the part of the alphabetic scribes and/or of an Aramaic-speaking "public". On the opposite page is a full chart of the Aramaic epigraphs on conveyance documents within the present corpus, with reference to their constitutive elements, as drawn from internal analysis or (mainly) from the cuneiform deeds.

*

* *

As may be seen from the chart itself, the information to be drawn from the Aramaic epigraphs on conveyance texts can be subsumed under a few basic headings, with little or no possibility allowed for variations or additions. In order of appearance on the epigraphs, one finds foremost (= I) an opening "label", relevant to the identification of the attached cuneiform document as being of legal nature, and specifically as representing a "deed". The latter is, in essence, the meaning to be assigned to the term *dnṯ*, which represents a loanword from Akkadian (*ṭuppu*) *dannatu* - in Assyrian

Text no.	TYPE	I "LABEL"	IIA NAME OF SELLER	IIB NAME OF BUYER	IIIA PROPERTY SOLD	IIIB PEOPLE SOLD	IV O T H E R D A T A
1	Real Est.		*				
2	Persons						*?
4	Persons	*dnt*				*	
5	Persons	*dnt*	*			*	
10	Real Est.	*dnt*	*		*		*? (geogr.)
14	Slaves	*dnt*				*	
16	Real Est.	*dnt*			*		* (geogr.)
17	Slaves	*dnt*	*	*		*	* (price)
18	Real Est.	[*dnt*]	*	[			*] (geogr.)
19	Unclear	*dnt; l*		*?	[		]
20	Slaves	*l*	*				
22	Unclear	*l*	[				]
23	Real Est.	*dnt*	*				* (geogr.)
24	Slaves	*dnt*				*	
25	Slaves	*dnt*				*	
26	Unclear	*dnt*				*?	
27	Slaves	*dnt*				*	
29	Real Est.	[ ]	*		*		
30	Slaves	*'st*				*	
31	Slaves	*dnt*				*	
32	Real Est.	*dnt*	[ ]		*		
33	Real Est.	[?]	*				
37	Land Lease	*dnt*		*?	*		
38	Unclear	[ ]	*	[ ]			

10. The chart does not take into account nos. 34, 40–42 (unclear) and texts I, II of section F (as yet unpublished in their full form). The indications of textual typology ("type") are, of course, desumed from a consideration of the sole Assyrian version of the texts themselves. Thus, "Real Est.(ate)" refers to documents relevant to the sale of explicitly mentioned "fields", "orchards", "vineyards", "houses", etc. As for the indication "Persons" and "Slaves", these two categories are distinguished according to the specifications $UN^{MEŠ}$ = *nišē*, applied to family groups, and ÌR/GÉME = *urdu/amtu*, applied to groups of one, at the most two, individuals, resp.; such specifications are regular features of the "seal identification" section of the Assyrian conveyance texts: cf. below, for the structure of this textual partition.

dannutu - "valid, legal document; deed"[11], usually applied to conveyance documents in the Neo-Assyrian evidence itself[12]. Thus, in brief, the initial "label" *dnt* had the function of indicating to an Aramaic-speaking milieu that the relevant cuneiform document was a *dannutu*, i.e. a deed of sale - and *not* a contract, or *not* a text of non-legal contents. Our corpus presents only two instances of variance on this opening description, i.e. in one case (no. 30) a more precise definition of the legal proceedings is given[13], while in three cases (nos. 19, 20, 22) the preposition *l* substitutes the label. If this preposition is - as I believe - to be viewed as meaning "relevant to.../concerning ..."[14], it is obvious that its function was that of a substitute for the indication *dnt*, perhaps in view of the self-explanatory shape of the typical Neo-Assyrian conveyance tablet. Finally, a few epigraphs lack any preliminary expression whatsoever: but in some of these, a "label" of sorts might be reconstructed as written on fragmentary or totally lost sides of the clay documents (cf. the commentaries).

The "label" *dnt* enters consistently into construct-state relationships with the following names or nouns, viz. with the personal names of the parties to the sale, seller or buyer (IIA and IIB above, resp.), and/or with the nouns/personal names relevant to the landed property or people (as individuals or in families) which constituted the object of the transaction (IIIA and IIIB, resp.). In this way, a certain number of combinations between element I and

11. Cf., on this term, Y. Muffs, *Studies*, 187; S.A. Kaufman, *Influences*, 46.
12. J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 3.
13. See the discussion in the commentary to no. 30, below.
14. A meaning specifically plausible for nos. 20, 22 (cf. the commentaries).

the remainder are created, which may be shown schematically as follows:

- an extended I+II+III (= label+party+object) type, in nos. 5, 10, 16-18, 19, 29, 32, 37, and two more limited combinations:
- I+II (= label + party) in nos. 23, 33, 38, and
- I+III (= label+object) in nos. 4, 14, 24-27, 30-31.

More in detail, it may be observed that the I+II type always involves the seller - except in the case of no.38, fragmentary - and that the I+III type is only attested for conveyances of people, and is not applied to real estate sales. This last feature is of a certain interest in itself, since it implies that a personal name is always attested in these epigraphs - that of a slave if nothing else; while in the case of the name of one of the parties (in I+II+III or I+II combinations) the seller's is much more frequently attested than the buyer's. Finally, it may be noticed that element IV ("other data"), which has comparatively few attestations, is present in nos.10,16-18 in connection with the extended I+II+III type; and only in no.23 with an epigraph of I+II-type structure.

Can these various analytical data be made to yield a coherent picture in themselves, and in conjunction with what has been said above, regarding the "secondary" character of the Aramaic epigraphs versus the more extended cuneiform text? I think so; but in order to make these data "speak" in the most functional manner, a brief glimpse should be also cast to the way in which the same informative elements (parties, objects of the sale, etc.) were distributed in the parallel but major Assyrian deed.

As has been clearly explained in a recent treatise[15], the relatively rigid structure of a Neo-Assyrian conveyance document implies that the first 4-5 lines were concerned, in order, with (a) the "seal identification section", bearing the name of the seller, and then - after the impression of a cylinder or stamp seal or of fingernail marks in a prearranged space - with (b) the description of the object(s), or the names of the persons, which were transacted by means of the deed itself. Further down - generally, not before the sixth or seventh line of text - came the name of the buyer and the amount paid for the transacted object; a series of penalty formulae concluded, in the main, the Obverse and continued onto the Reverse, followed in turn by a normally extended witness list. The date by year-eponym represented the last item of the document.

Now, let us compare this general model of a Neo-Assyrian deed of sale with the items and combinations charted and discussed above for the Aramaic epigraphs. It will be apparent that the data to be most frequently found in the latter - such as the seller's name, or the description/names of the object/persons sold - correspond precisely to the ones situated closer to the beginning of the cuneiform document; and vice versa. For example, if we take a second look at the category of "other data" (= IV) in the chart given above, we will notice that geographical localizations of the real estate being transacted occurs in four cases, whereas the indication of the price paid (for slaves) occurs only once. In this connection, it will be observed that localizations in Neo-Assyrian

15. J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 12.

deeds usually are considered a full-fledged part of the description of landed property under transaction, and are thus placed immediately below the horizontal lines which mark the space for seals (approx. 4-5 lines from top), whereas the price of any object sold occurs - as said - much further down on the Obverse of the conveyance tablet.

In brief, the case made above may be stated as follows: Aramaic epigraphs on Neo-Assyrian conveyance tablets may be viewed as provided with a certain internal structure (the elements numbered I-IV). This structure in itself, and the choices within it (seller :: buyer; localization :: price; etc.) seem to be conceived in accordance with the disposition of the data within the attached cuneiform document. Thus, it may be said that *in the main, the Aramaic scribes built their one-two line summaries of Neo-Assyrian sales documents proceeding from the written reality of the cuneiform documents themselves*: not only because, whether incised in the still soft clay or scratched/painted onto an already hardened surface, the West Semitic texts were written out *after* the Assyrian deed had been completed - as the physical arrangement of the two messages suggests by itself - but also because the alphabetic epigraphs show a selection of data which takes "after" the disposition of the same data on the cuneiform material.

In terms of very basic semiology, it might be said that the Aramaic epigraphs examined above did not stem directly from the "oral" reality of discussion and agreement of the terms of sale, i.e. from the practice of "court" (in whichever language the latter may have taken place). Rather, they originated from the graphemically formalized reality of the deed itself, i.e. from the

codification of a concrete situation of sale in the form of a document on a rectangular tablet in the Neo-Assyrian dialect. Whether in actual fact it was the same scribe who was directly responsible for the two textual utterances, in cuneiform and in alphabetic script, on the same tablets - as has been recently suggested[16] - or not, is irrelevant in the line of reasoning hitherto conducted, and virtually impossible to demonstrate one way or the other. The main point is, instead, that at present the evidence for Neo-Assyrian conveyance texts which is at our disposal shows that the Aramaic inscriptions attested thereon were *totally secondary* in relation to the cuneiform written expression - secondary in their physical location, secondary in their constitutive message, and, presumably, also secondary in their social importance.

* * *

If the conclusions reached above may be considered valid, it will follow, going on the final problem of the *function* of these epigraphs or superscriptions, that no binding legal value of sorts could have been attached to them. In other words, due to the brevity and selection of data inherent to these epigraphs, they could *not* fulfill the function of translations, or in any case of counterparts, of the Neo-Assyrian deeds in the juridical sphere - as, instead, is the case for some of the contract texts in Aramaic. Rather, in view of the great length and formulaic complexity

16. H.Tadmor, *The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact*, in *MsN* II, 453. This possibility is especially plausible for text no. 17, q.v.

attested in the standard sale documents in cuneiform of this age, these brief summarizations placed on the margins of the Neo-Assyrian tablets may be plausibly connected to "archival" aims, at least in the most general acceptation of the term[17]. And since, as has been shown above, personal names seem to be consistently involved in these summarizations, it is further plausible to envisage a *context of personal identification* as connected to the act of drawing up the texts themselves.

To be more precise on this count - i.e. to establish whether the identification of the named persons was for the benefit of the bearers of the tablets themselves, or for an administration - is, however, very difficult, in the present state of our knowledge on Neo-Assyrian archives, from the archeological and normative/conceptual viewpoint. As is well known, the Neo-Assyrian conveyance texts from Nineveh stem from storerooms in public buildings, but are not to be necessarily referred to personnel connected with these buildings: more widely, it may be said that groups of deeds relating to palatial personnel in their private functions, as well as documents concerned with persons of decidedly non-palatine affiliations are randomly mixed therein. To this overall uncertainty concerning the deposit and accumulation of a large number of Neo-Assyrian sales documents in a public context, we must add the further problems posed by the comparatively very small number of these texts presenting superscriptions in West Semitic alphabetic writing. Did the Assyrian-Aramaic conveyances represent

17. I.e., in the apt words of S.J. Lieberman, *BASOR* 192 (1968), 27, "To ease handling of the documents by those who could read Aramaic, but were not able to decipher the intricacies of the cuneiform script".

an "input" of predominantly West Semitic-speaking regions of the Assyrian empire in the vaster central archives[18]? Or should they, on the other hand, be viewed as random finds relevant to a widespread practice of summarization in Aramaic, to be envisaged for the entire imperial territory in the last century of Assyrian rule[19]? Differently from the clearer issues raised by the contract texts, which shall be examined next, the group of conveyance documents with Aramaic summarizations leaves us at present - i.e. seventy years after Delaporte's presentation of the material - with a large number of possible contextual solutions - or better, with no single satisfactory explanation.

18. This explanation might have some plausibility, in view of (1) the presence of a certain number of "Western" onomastic and toponomastic elements in our texts (cf. the commentaries), and (2) a large-sized group of materials pertaining to the area of North-West Mesopotamia in the administrative and legal archives from Nineveh, on which specific research is still lacking: cf. for the moment, e.g. Fales, *CCENA*, passim; Kessler, *Topographie*, passim; Menzel, *AT*, passim.

19. It is interesting to note, in connection with the latter hypothesis, that three of the best-known legal "archives" within the Kuyunjik collection - i.e. those of Rēmanni-Adad (cf. G. van Driel, *BiOr* 27 [1970], 170), Kakkullānu (cf. M. Falkner, *AfO* 17 [1954-56], 107; F.M. Fales, *DdA* 3 [1981], 80-81) and Nimuayyu (Falkner, cit., 108) - are represented by at least one conveyance text in the present corpus (cf. the commentaries).

1. 3. Contract texts

The case of contract-type texts included in the present corpus poses less contextual problems, as said above, but on the other hand more merely descriptive difficulties than that of conveyance texts. Foremost, one must deal with the fact that, within this single textual category, Aramaic is attested in three totally different functions on clay tablets, viz.:

(1) as a summary or superscription, similar to those on sale documents, in nos. 15, 21, 28, 35, 39, 59[20];

(2) as a full text ranged in parallel to, and basically identical with, an Assyrian one, i.e. as part of a bilingual tablet, in nos. 3, 6, 7;

(3) as a full text in itself, i.e. as forming an unilingual tablet, in nos. 9, 13, 46-51, 53-57.

The second perspective that may be applied to this group of texts concerns, instead, two traits that they have in common with the purely Assyrian documents of the same type: their physical characteristics, which range from the quadrangular tablet provided with an outer "envelope" to the single triangular tablet, and that of their specific contents, which range from the loan of silver to the loan of barley to the antichretic loan, or pledge. All the above cases are represented in our corpus, and will be discussed in greater detail below: for the moment, however, it will be useful to notice that no full coincidence is presented between the sub-groups of documents obtained through the first and the second perspective

20. No. 42 should also belong to this group; but I am doubtful as to its exact nature (cf. commentary, below).

on the material. Thus, it may in general be stated that the contract-type texts in the present corpus are formed by texts in which Aramaic plays various functional roles, within the framework of the main typologies of format and content which characterize this textual class as a whole in the Neo-Assyrian period.

* * *

As concerns foremost the summarizing notes, two clear-cut cases (nos. 21 and 28) are relevant to loans of silver. Both were placed on the ovoidal margin of the outer tablet (or 'envelope') bearing the seal impressions and a repetition of the Assyrian text which was written on the inner, "horizontal", document[21]. Their common features are the name of the debtor - whose seal impression was on the envelope - and the typology of the goods subjected to loan (*ksp*, "silver"). One of the two cases (no.21) also presents a "label", totally similar in function to the one attested on sales documents; the relevant term is here *'grt*, which corresponds fully to Assyrian *egirtu*, "written document, message"[22]. A further fragmentary case (no.35) may also be made out as bearing this "label". Finally, no.28 shows the preliminary indication *l*, "concerning ...", which also recurs on conveyance texts.

The term *'grt*, interestingly enough, is not attested, on the other hand, for the two summarizations placed on triangular corn loan dockets - a characteristic type of text of the Neo-Assyrian period, about which more shall be said below. Here (esp. in no.15)

21. J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 4.

22. Cf. Ibid., 3; S.A. Kaufman, *Studies...Finkelstein*, 124[43].

the opening of the epigraph bears the indications of the goods lent, i.e. *š^{c}ryn*, "barley"; then comes the expression *zy ^{c}l*, "which is debited to ..." - a loan-translation, or calque, from the customary Assyrian formula of loan, *ša ina pāni*[23] - and then the name of the debtor. In no.59, fragmentary, this entire formula should be reconstructed for a group of person originating from a single village, the name of which is given.

The small complex of bilingual tablets may be examined next. Here, only corn-loan documents, triangular in shape, are represented, with the Assyrian text inscribed on one face, the Aramaic one on the other. The function of these documents is unique within the present corpus, in the sense that only in such texts are we given to envisage the concrete possibility for reciprocal translation between the two languages in single contextual environments. Differently from the case of both the summarizations and the unilingual West Semitic contracts, these tablets appear to be conceived, and presumably also utilized, for the purpose of an immediate, "one-to-one" correlation of the formulae and the data between the two linguistic milieus participating in the contracts themselves. That this point has not been hitherto noticed in the many (even recent) discussions on Assyrian-Aramaic interference and bilingualism, is mainly to be attributed to the imperfect state of presentation to which the relevant documents (nos. 3, 6, perhaps also 7) have been subjected in previous editions.

The third group of contracts is the largest one, but also the most widespread from the point of view of provenience, and finally

23. *FNALD*, 36. Cf. below, 2.3, for calques.

the most varied as regards contents: unilingual Aramaic documents. The 14 tablets of this type attested in the present corpus derive from Nineveh (nos. 9, 13), Assur (nos. 46-51), and Guzana (nos. 53-57); triangular corn loan dockets are amply represented (nos. 9, 46-49, 53-57), but two silver loans on triangular tablets are also attested (nos. 50-51) as is a pledge of a person (?) against the loan of silver (no.13). It is of interest, in my opinion, to notice that one of these unilingual texts (no.9) proceeds from the same "archive" that yields the bilingual tablets dealt with above. This is a hint of the fact that single social and linguistic milieus within the Assyrian empire of the 7th century B.C. were provided with various specific options for the "encoding" of their legal materials, in a general situation of Assyrian-Aramaic language interaction.

* * *

A point of detail concerning the juridical, but also the social and linguistic function of these contract texts may be tackled now, in relation to the ample presence of triangular corn loan tablets in the corpus, and to recent discussion on this textual category. As treated in extenso by J.N.Postgate[24], triangular corn loan tablets or "dockets" may be described as "a triangular lump of clay formed round a knotted string"; such dockets "almost always bear the text of a loan (or debt-note) of corn, and like the envelopes of other 7th century contracts are

24. *FNALD*, 5-6.

sealed with the seal of the debtor".

Postgate[25] goes on to suggest that "the clay was obviously primarily a sealing, intended to prevent the loosening of a knot ... It is therefore logical to ask whether the docket could have served the same purpose for a corn loan as did the envelope with other loans, and we believe that it did just that. If an envelope prevented access to and alteration of the inner tablet, a triangular sealing could prevent the untying of the string with which a parchment roll or similar document was secured. Evidently such a document was written in Aramaic ...". Admittedly, "in the entire absence of any concrete evidence to support it", the above reconstruction can only be hypothetical; but it is plausible, states Postgate, in view of other pieces of contemporary evidence on the use of Aramaic writing on papyrus or parchment[26]. Conclusively, Postgate says: "First, we suggest, the inner tablet gave way to an Aramaic document, but retained its sealing with cuneiform inscription; later the sealing itself was inscribed in Aramaic, and later still the sealing became no more than a lump securing the knot, with the exterior text added on the scroll outside the sealing. This latest stage is attested in Egypt [of the 5th century B.C.]".

Now, this reconstruction of the evolution of triangular corn-loan dockets may be checked - at least in part - against the material in the present corpus: and not a few objections may be brought forth against it. The first objection is that the Assyrian-Aramaic evidence does not agree with the general scheme

25. Ibid., 6.

26. Ibid.

of evolution envisaged by Postgate for the cuneiform and alphabetic dockets. Not only do the bi- and unilingual exemplars of nos. 3, 6, 7, 9 unequivocally antecede the summarization of no.15, but the Guzana unilingual Aramaic dockets are rigidly contemporary with the merely Assyrian ones - since the creditor in both is the same individual, *Ìl-ma-na-ni/'lmny*. Finally, there are grounds for surmising that the summarization of no. 59 pertained to one and the same archive as a group of unilingual Aramaic deeds from the Brussels Museum collection[27]. Thus, taking up again some previous remarks, it may be said that all types of Aramaic epigraphs on triangular corn-loan dockets (summaries, bi- and unilingual inscriptions) represented alternative possibilities for text-writing in 7th century Assyria, with no visible inner evolution.

The second objection is from the point of view of function. It is superfluous, in my opinion, to envisage the presence of an Aramaic scroll presenting what could only have been a repetition of the contents of the triangular tablets (by analogy with the case of the envelope and the inner tablet): the bilingual exemplars, bearing a totally identical text in the two languages, exhaust this function by themselves. But let us go on to consider the unilingual Aramaic dockets - which have contents not only similar to those of the bilinguals but also to those of the standard cuneiform docket of this type. Here it must be recognized and underscored that such texts represented *per se* a fully binding expression of the customary law of 7th century Assyria - no more and no less, from the social as well as from the juridical viewpoint, than any other

27. Cf. the commentary to no. 59, below.

legal text of this age. Given this situation, which explains at least in part the seemingly free or random alternation of alphabetic and cuneiform dockets from same sites (as in the case of Guzana), the alleged need for a further, 'closed' or 'rolled-up', copy of the contract in Aramaic alphabetic script comes virtually to naught.

Finally, I would like to point out that the physical typology of the "triangular lump of clay formed round a knotted string" is also, as said, represented by two exemplars of loans of silver in this corpus. And this occurrence allows us to move on to evidence outside of the corpus itself, of particular importance for an evaluation of the "lump" and the "knotted string" in their actual and practical usage. In a Neo-Assyrian letter from the age of Esarhaddon[28], a courtier relates to the king a series of misdeeds occurring in the province of Guzana (!), among which is the following:

> "(This is) a further misdeed of theirs: (at the time) of the father of the king my lord, the (amount of the) silver of the *iškāru*-contributions of the shepherds had been written out on a document (*nibzu*) in Assyrian and a document in Aramaic, and it had been placed on the necks of Nabû-qata-ṣabat, the steward, of the chief of the towns, and of the scribe. The indication of the silver was on their necks; and it had been sealed with a royal seal, with these words, 'If they do not give back the silver within this year, they

28. *CT* 53, 46: cf. this writer's versions of the text in *AfO* 27 (1980), 215-219, and in *Cento lettere neo-assire*, I, Venezia 1983, 118-125.

shall die'. As soon as this menacing word had been uttered, they tore away the seals from their necks, and threw them away".

From this text - very explicit in the indication of common Assyrian practices in the field of text-writing and sealing - a few observations may be drawn. The first is that the documents referred to are debt-notes of sorts, since they present the clause of the restitution of the amount - albeit with a very truculent (and totally unusual) penalty clause[29]. The second is that the Aramaic document, parallel to the Assyrian one, cannot have been anything but a tablet, since it was hung around the neck of the officials responsible for the transfer of the amount together with its "twin". The third observation is that the tablet(s) - either two unilingual exemplars or a bilingual type like nos. 3, 6, 7 - are referred to in the last quoted sentence as "seals" *(unqāte)*, implying that the clay objects themselves were viewed as in a sealed, "locked", position when placed around the necks of the three individuals. Finally, since in fact the bearers are three persons, we have to deal with duplicate inscriptions -for a total of three sets of double (Assyrian and Aramaic) messages.

In this light, the problem of the use of triangular dockets in 7th century Assyria may be restated - with the need, in my opinion, to adopt a wider perspective on the matter. In agreement with Postgate, I believe that the texts - for their overall physical

29. Cf. *FNALD*, 40-44, 48-49, for the normal clauses connected to the repayment of the amount due in Neo-Assyrian contract texts.

characteristics - did have the same function of a sealing as did the envelope in earlier (or contemporary) "horizontal" documents. And, in consideration of the clear description in Jer. 32:11,14, of a *Doppelurkunde* (the "sealed deed of purchase" and "its open copy"), it may be assumed in general that the practice of connecting one text to another through the seals had found acceptance in the West Semitic-speaking world of the time - perhaps, as suggested long ago by San Nicolò, through direct Neo-Assyrian influence[30]. But the text quoted above rather implies

30. Cf. M.San Nicolò, *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte im Bereiche der keilschriftlichen Rechtsquellen*, Oslo 1931, 128 ff.; further bibliography in Muffs, *Studies*, 191[5]. Of course the case in Jeremiah 32 is that of a sale, and thus the document is a conveyance text -for which our Aramaic evidence is limited to epigraphs (1.2). At all events, the narration in the prophetic book -and specifically the prescription that the deeds be "put ... in an earthenware pot, so that they may be preserved for a long time" (32:14)- is of interest in connection with our text no. 60. This document, which is a receipt, i.e. the record of the conclusion of a loan of silver, presents the statement that the sum has been given back in full, i.e. "neither a shekel nor a half-shekel of it is left"; consequently, *egirtu ḫarimtu*, "the contract is locked up" (cf. the commentary for discussion of this new reading of a controversial -and admittedly difficult- clause). This *egirtu*, the text goes on to say, may be preserved in this state -possibly 'for the record'; but "if at any time it should come out from the house of Ḥazā-'el [=the former creditor] or from the house of his master, it is to be smashed" (for the action on tablets described by *marāqu* and related verbs in Middle- and Neo-Assyrian, cf. K. Deller, *WZKM* 57 (1961), 37-38; J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 32-33; and see also *BM* 103390 = F.M. Fales, *ZA* 73 (1983), 246: R. 1). Of course, the "spirit" behind the preservation of the text is here

that, specifically as concerns contract documents, other uses of the inscribed "seal" were common, as e.g. that of "locking" the document itself around the neck of the debtors. And finally, from the epigraph of our text no.15, below, it is possible to surmise that triangular corn-loan dockets could have also been "tied" - at least, in one of their copies - to the very container (jar, etc.) that held the grain[31]. In view of these alternative possibilities, then, and in addition to the existence of truly bilingual exemplars of this textual category (which are chronologically in free alternation with monolingual cases and mere summaries), it may be said that the general "profile" of the triangular docket of Neo-Assyrian times - whether inscribed in Assyrian, Aramaic, or both - is that of a s e l f - s u f f i c i e n t documentary entity, not that of a text which of necessity was tied to other texts.

quite different from that illustrated in Jer. 32:15, "For Yahweh Sabaoth, the God of Israel, says this, 'People will buy fields and vineyards in this land again' ". But, in any case, it may be recalled that all contract texts for corn, with Il-manānī of Guzana as (former) creditor, both the Assyrian and Aramaic ones, were discovered within a single jar "in einem Häuschen neben dem Palast des Mannu-ki-Aššur" (E.F. Weidner, in *TH*, 6[22]).

31. Cf., on this count, the question posed by A. Ungnad, in *TH*, 58: "Warum wurde aber die Urkunde von vornherein in der dreieckigen Form einer Tonplombe, wie man solche sonst an Waren anhängte, abgefasst?". For clay bullae tied to jars from the Neo-Assyrian period, cf. e.g. the exemplars published by J.N. Postgate, *GPA*, nos. 233-239 (and cf. ibid, p. 233, commentary, for a previous hypothesis that here also "the clay had been attached to a papyrus scroll").

* * *

In the process of the above discussion, concerned with a specific topic in the study of the function of our epigraphs, a few general points on Assyrian-Aramaic contract texts have been made outright, or at least noted in passing. It may be useful to summarize them again, by way of conclusion to the present chapter:

(1) the bilingual and unilingual Aramaic exemplars of contract texts concur in indicating for the West Semitic language the function of a fully binding expression of the customary law of 7th century Assyria, at the same level as the Assyrian language itself. The same point ensues from the Assyrian letter quoted in the discussion. This function must be recognized as such, since it constitutes indirectly one of the few concrete indications on the status of Aramaic - or any other foreign language, for that matter - within Assyrian society. In other words, Aramaic can be viewed, through the 'keyhole' of these texts, as an accepted linguistic vehicle from the practical and social point of view, which entered into some form of legitimate competition with the traditional language of the empire.

(2) The bilingual tablets show precisely that a fully bilingual sector of Assyrian society must be reckoned with - a sector within which, presumably, the two languages also lent themselves to various forms of spoken interaction, admixture and reciprocal contamination. Somewhat similar results may be reached as regards the unilingual Aramaic tablets also, in the light of (a) the

identity of the creditor in the Guzana West Semitic texts with the creditor in the Assyrian loan contracts from the same site; (b) the notation in the quoted Assyrian letter on the writing out of double (if not single bilingual) debt-notes; (c) the possibility, to be deduced from various intimations, that same "archives" were represented by mainly Assyrian, half-Assyrian and totally Aramaic loan documents. This result has a specific bearing on the linguistic study of the texts in 2.2, 2.3, below.

1. 4. Other texts, legal and not

In sum, the analysis hitherto conducted on conveyance and contract tablets has had, as one of its results, the identification of two basic but different functions for the Aramaic inscriptions on such materials: an "archival" one, and on the other hand a totally valid and binding legal function. The last two texts of legal nature in the present corpus conform perfectly to this bipartite scheme: no.60, as already hinted above, is a receipt written out on the occasion of the conclusion of a loan of silver, and bears only a short summarization in Aramaic describing it as such (*spr šlm*, "document of settlement"); while no.58 is a unilingual record of judicial decision - also bearing a formula concerning *šlm*, "judicial peace" - which, by the way, is the only clear-cut case of a totally Aramaic legal text on a rectangular-shaped tablet[32].

32. Cf. however the fragmentary epigraph no. 11, for a possible further case.

The non-legal material in the corpus differs from the documentation examined above, in that it appears to be characterized by a greater degree of randomness, both in textual types and shapes as well as in the presence and scope of the Aramaic epigraphs. Text no.8 is engraved on one of the large rectangular tablets bearing requests to the sun-god Šamaš for favourable omens; it is the sole example of alphabetic script in a vast collection of similar texts - many of which written by the same cultic personnel as this one - and can only be considered a casual product as such. Nos. 43 and 44 are triangular clay "tags" for administrative use from Kalḫu, possibly deriving from the same official context as a group of Assyrian exemplars from the same site, which bear much the same sort of message[33]: here, we may once more gain a rapid insight on the existence and the mechanisms of a diffuse bilingualism in 7th century Assyria. No.52, a relatively large administrative note from Assur, is less characterized in this sense; on the other hand, the fully bilingual apotropaic formula present on no.45, again from Kalḫu, adds to our data the notion that the Assyrian-Aramaic linguistic and cultural interaction had penetrated into the innermost receptacle of the private sphere - that of the relation with the gods.

* * *

The cumulated evidence of this material may be taken to show that during the last century of existence of the Assyrian empire,

33. Cf. J.N. Postgate, *GPA*, nos. 132-133, 170-173, 233-239.

Aramaic alphabetic script was utilized for the writing out of many types of texts - virtually as many types as are known to us in the contemporary cuneiform script. This conclusion is confirmed in full by what is at present known concerning the as yet unpublished texts in Aramaic from the Brussels Museums collection (cf. foreword, above). From the preliminary accounts of these materials[34], it appears that loan-documents constituted the majority of the 23 tablets of the collection itself. But, apart from the fact that even in the contract-type category, the Brussels group shows interesting novelties (e.g. a debt-note for straw, in "bundles", *O.*3651; one for animals and silver combined, *O.*3656; etc.), at least three exemplars pertain to hitherto unattested textual typologies as regards the West Semitic material from Assyria. As described by E.Lipiński[35], two of these documents are unilingual receipts for payment of silver (*O.*3645 and 3655): they must be therefore set in parallel with our no.60, which is however a mere summarization. The third case is that of a sort of "note" relevant to a shipment of seven ass-loads of tin to Ḫarrān (*O.*3672): here we should be dealing with the minute occasional message of economic or administrative content, well known through its counterparts in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform script[36]. In its form, it would seem to fall just short of being classifiable as an actual epistolary document: and, in fact, the latter textual category probably represents the sole major "gap" in Aramaic alphabetic texts from Neo-Assyrian

34. Cf. essentially E. Lipiński, *Acta antiqua* 22 (1974), 379-384.

35. Ibid., 384.

36. Just to give one example, cf. the Nimrud texts published by B. Parker, *Iraq* 23 (1961), 18-61, passim.

times which remains to be filled by future discoveries[37].

2. The language of the texts

2.1. From decipherment to interference

The linguistic evaluation of the texts assembled in the present volume is a subject that draws its roots from the very initial phase of modern research on both the languages represented, i.e. from the origins of both Assyriology and Old Aramaic studies, more than a century ago. As has been often recalled, Sir Henry Rawlinson first published 17 of our epigraphs in *JRAS* NS 1 (1865), pp.187 ff., using them as proof of the accuracy of his decipherment of the cuneiform script, although considering the language of the epigraphs themselves Phoenician. The correct attribution of the alphabetic texts to Aramaic, and in fact to an Aramaic with a large admixture of Assyrian, stems from T.Nöldeke[38] at a time - it must

37. Of course, the "Assur ostracon" (*KAI* 233) *is* a letter, and has a decidedly Neo-Assyrian historical setting; on the other hand, its dialectal characteristics have been pointed out by many commentators (cf. 2.2, below) as markedly different from the typical traits to be encountered in the present corpus, i.e. as more decidedly Babylonian. An updated study of this fundamental text, with an eye to its possible models in Neo-Babylonian epistolary material, is at present in preparation by the author.

38. In *ZDMG* 33 (1879), 321.

be noted - in which the majority of the monumental Aramaic inscriptions of the 10th-7th centuries B.C. were still awaiting the spade of the archaeologist.

The relatively momentous progress before, and around, the turn of the century in the philology and interpretation of Assyrian texts[39] as well as of the Aramaic ones[40] leads us to L.Delaporte's "étude des textes araméens gravés ou écrits sur des tablettes cunéiformes"[41], which constituted the first -and hitherto only- attempt to present an edition of all the known material together with an evaluation of its Aramaic parts along the lines of linguistic history. The basic assumption of Delaporte's work - which comprised also the edition of the Neo- and Late Babylonian tablets with Aramaic epigraphs known at the time - was that "à l'époque des Sargonides et des Achéménides un nouveau système d'écriture commence à s'imposer parce qu'il est plus simple et plus rapide ... la langue des propagateurs de l'alphabet se substitue aux langues de puissants peuples qui s'expriment par des caractères plus compliqués. L'araméen n'etait donc pas seulement la langue des relations officielles entre la cour des Perses et les nations qu'ils avaient subjugués, ... mais il était répandu et parlé en Assyrie, au VII^{e} siécle, et en Babylonie au V^{e} siècle, tout aussi

39. Cf., from 1898 on, C.H.W. Johns' *ADD*, vols. I-IV.

40. *CIS* II/1, Paris 1888-1889. The copies of the Assyrian-Aramaic texts were the product of P. Berger, while the Marquis Melchior de Vogüé was the editor of the volume.

41. *EA* (Paris, 1912).

bien que dans les colonies juives du sud de l'Egypte"[42]. Similar conclusions were being reached around the same time by A.T.Clay[43] and S.Schiffer[44] or were being implicity drawn from the punctual examination of the material, e.g. by K.L.Tallqvist[45].

The more significant discoveries in the field of Old Aramaic monumental epigraphy[46] coupled with a general decline of studies on

42. Ibid., 12. Somewhat similar remarks stem from C.H.W. Johns: "I believe the spoken language was already Aramaic, though all official speeches were made in Assyrian" (private letter to S. Schiffer, quoted in the latter's *Die Aramäer* , 39[5]: cf. footnote 44, below).

43. *Aramaic Indorsements on the Documents of the Murašû Sons*, in: *Studies...W.R. Harper*, Chicago 1908, 285-322.

44. *Die Aramäer, Historisch-geographische Untersuchungen*, Leipzig 1911, esp. 41 ff. This author paints the picture of a comprehensive bilingualism as operating within the Assyrian empire ("Wie damals die assyrischen Beamten und Händler das Aramäische längst erlernt hatten, so hatten auch die mit diesen in Verkehr stehenden aramäischen Händler Kenntnis von der assyrischen Sprache erworben"), to which lexical particularities such as the use of *mt* instead of *'rq* (in our no. 16) and the misuse of *^{c}l* in one case (our no. 15) should be attributed, as "mancher Lapsus in den aramäischen Eintragungen" (p. 42 and fn. 1).

45. *Assyrian Personal Names*, Helsingfors 1914, esp. XVIII-XIX. Previous inquiries on the West Semitic personal names in cuneiform go back to Johns, *ADD*, passim; also, id., *ADB* (Leipzig, 1901), 11-18; and H. Zimmern, in E. Schrader (Ed.), *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, Berlin 1903, 465 ff.

46. The independent characteristics of Old Aramaic were first clearly identified by G. Garbini, *AA*, passim. For the texts, cf. *KAI*, nos. 201-224, with the essential bibliography in chronological order (vol. II, pp.203-274). General bibliographies on Old Aramaic studies are now

Neo-Assyrian legal and administrative material between approx. 1925 and 1960[47], are probably the main causes of an almost total vacuum in research on the 7th century Aramaic texts from Assyria after the age of Stevenson, Johns, and Delaporte, until very recent times. Subjected to cursory mention in the general works[48], the corpus under study received, during the course of many years, only some quantitative additions - 6 new texts from Assur (1921)[49] and 5 from Tell Halaf/Guzana (1940)[50] - but no new critical contributions. This phenomenon may also have had its roots in a technical and methodological distance which was perceived at this time between the two disciplines required for an evaluation of the corpus itself, Assyriology and Semitics[51].

relatively abundant: cf. e.g. J.J.Koopmans, *Aramäische Chrestomathie*, I, Leiden 1962, 2-5; R. Degen, *AAG*, XI-XVIII; and especially F. Vattioni, *Preliminari alle iscrizioni aramaiche*, *Augustinianum* 9 (1969), 305-361.

47. For an overview of studies on Neo-Assyrian texts, cf. e.g. this writer's *Cento lettere neo-assire*, cit., 18 ff.
48. E.g. in F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen*, Leiden 1939, 45. Significantly enough, Rosenthal had then already made the observation that Delaporte's collection "heute natürlich im Einzelnen recht korrekturbedürftig ist".
49. M. Lidzbarski, *AUA*, 15-20, Taf. II (=nos. 46-51 in this volume).
50. J. Friedrich, in *AfO Bh* 6, 69-78, Taf. 30 (=nos. 53-57 in this volume).
51. Cf. e.g. R. Bowman, *Arameans, Aramaic, and the Bible*, *JNES* 7 (1948), 65-90, and especially 71 ff. for one of the very few discussions on the Assyro-Aramaic material prior to the mid-60s. In may be noticed in this connection that, as late as 1969, Y. Muffs (*Studies*, 187-188) indicated that while "it stands to reason that the Elephantine legal formulary with its Neo-Assyrian affinities is but a reflex of the docket

Not surprisingly, in fact, a renewal of interest in the interrelation between Aramaic and the language and culture of late Assyria may be linked to the resumption of analysis on the contemporary dialect of Akkadian, i.e. Neo-Assyrian, as it was effected from a systematical philological and linguistic viewpoint by a school originating from W.von Soden, and specifically by K.Deller. Deller, in 1965, was the author of the first theoretical and practical assertion in this new phase of research concerning the interpretation of Aramaic onomastics in cuneiform script of the Neo-Assyrian period[52]; and the next few years witnessed the expansion of studies on West Semitic names in cuneiform of the 1st millennium B.C. into a virtually independent field of research, in which scholars of both Assyriological and Semitic formation equally participated[53].

At the same time, the Aramaic-Akkadian interrelation had

tradition", "for some reason, previous investigators of the Aramaic legal papyri have not coordinated the Mesopotamian and Egyptian Aramaic legal traditions", and finally (188[1]) that "the Assyriologically oriented legal investigation of the dockets is a desideratum of Aramaic studies".

52. *OrNS* 34, 473-476.
53. Cf. essentially S.A. Kaufman, *JAOS* 90 (1970), 270-271; Id., *JNES* 37 (1978), 101-109; M.D. Coogan, *West Semitic Personal Names in the Murašû Documents*, Missoula 1976; E. Lipiński, *SAIO* I (1975); Id., *OrNS* 45 (1976), 53-74; R. Zadok, *JANES* 8 (1976), 113-126: Id. *WdO* 9 (1977), 35-56; Id., *WSB* (1978[2]); Id., *BASOR* 230 (1978), 57-65; Id., *ZDMG* 131 (1981), 42-84; F.M. Fales, *ACF* 13/3 (1974), 179-188; Id., *OrAn* 16 (1977), 41-68; *Or NS* 47 (1978), 91-98; Id., *Orientis Antiqui Collectio* XIII (1978), 199-229; Id., *Iraq* 41 (1979), 55-73.

become a pole of attraction also for the lexicographers: here, again, with joint participation of both the fields involved. The loanwords from Aramaic into Akkadian were arranged into a preliminary, but systematic, catalogue by W.von Soden[54]. An even greater degree of attention, on the other hand, was paid to the lexical loans proceeding in the opposite direction, from Akkadian to Aramaic: specific and detailed works on this subject are represented by the catalogue of loanwords by S.A.Kaufman[55] and by the lexical-juridical investigation by Y.Muffs[56] - two studies in which the data from the Aramaic epigraphs on Assyrian tablets are quoted to some extent - and also by a number of minor contributions, relevant to individual lexical elements of Akkadian origin attested in Aramaic textual material[57].

More recently, the accretion of studies and data on the Akkadian-Aramaic comparison has brought about some general theoretical reviews of the question[58]. In these studies, the evaluation of the two dominant linguistic and cultural 'morphs' of Western Asia during the greater part of the 1st millennium B.C. is

54. *Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und in neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten. Ein Vorbericht*, *OrNS* 35 (1966), 1-20; 37 (1968), 261-271: 46 (1977), 183-197.

55. *Influences* (1974).

56. *Studies* (1969).

57. Cf. e.g. the essays by J.C. Greenfield and S.A. Kaufman, in *Studies ... J.J. Finkelstein*, Hamden 1977, 87-91 and 119-127, resp.

58. F.M. Fales, *Accadico e aramaico: livelli dell'interferenza linguistica*, *VO* 3 (1980), 243-267; H. Tadmor, *The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact*, in *MsN* II (1982), 449-470; also, A.R. Millard, *Assyrians and Arameans*, *Iraq* 45 (1983), 101-108.

effected from an undoubtedly much more advanced perspective than in Delaporte's age: i.e. from the standpoint of an operating reciprocal interference, involving Aramaic on the one hand, and the official language of the Mesopotamian empires on the other. By such a situation of interference, as this writer has argued[59], the West Semitic tongue proves to have constantly and progressively "infiltrated" the official languages with its day-by-day lexicon, while receiving from them at the same time a series of expressions which would have constituted the particular "identification mark" of Aramaic-speaking civilization all through post-Christian times until the present day.

It seems not unfitting, finally, that exactly in the same years in which a long-range and deep linguistic and cultural relationship between Akkadian and Aramaic became an accepted framework and operative concept in research, the discovery of an extended text of totally bilingual content, such as is represented by the statue from Tell Fekheriye[60] provided an indubitable factual confirmation of the correctness of this approach. The statue of Tell Fekheriye is the most ancient Akkadian-Aramaic bilingual text

59. Fales, loc. cit., esp. 258 ff.

60. A. Abou Assaf, *Die Statue des HDYS^{c}Y, Konig von Guzana*, *MDOG* 113 (1981), 3-22; P. Bordreuil, A.R. Millard, A. Abou Assaf, *La statue de Tell Fekheryé: la première inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne*, *CRAI* 1981, 640-655; the editio princeps by the same authors in *STF* (1982); and the first commentaries, e.g. J.C. Greenfield - A. Shaffer, *Notes on the Akkadian-Aramaic Bilingual Statue from Tell Fekherye*, *Iraq* 45 (1983), 109-116. R. Zadok, *Remarks on the Inscription of HDYS^{c}Y from Tall Fakhariya*, *Tel Aviv 9* (1982), 117-129; F.M. Fales, *Note di semitico nordoccidentale*, *VO 5* (1982), 75-83, and esp. 80-83.

yet found (first half of the 9th century B.C.) and comes from a region - the area around Guzana - which, as seen above (1.3.), appears to have been a constant "focal point" for the elaboration of Assyrian-Aramaic interaction all through the Neo-Assyrian period. As such, this document opens an entirely new chapter for the investigation on the relations between East and West Semitic in the 1st millenium B.C., on the particular type of Aramaic spoken in Assyria, and - perhaps - on some of the constitutive elements of the Aramaic linguistic and cultural complex in itself. Some of these problems will be the object of analysis below.

2.2. Theoretical frameworks: "Mesopotamian Aramaic" and the "A/A Symbiosis".

Prior to an analytical survey of our corpus in its linguistic elements, it is indispensable, in my opinion, to tackle - and to take a definite stance on - a few problems of theory and terminology concerning the corpus itself from the viewpoint of Aramaic studies. As already implied above (2.1), the material under examination has been long neglected by Aramaists. In particular, it may be recalled that the theorizations of linguistic-historical phases within Aramaic of the 1st millennium B.C. have been, by and large, effected a p a r t f r o m an evaluation of these epigraphs as proof of the swift and steady emergence of Aramaic as an accepted linguistic vehicle within the Neo-Assyrian empire (on which, cf. 1.3, 1.4, above). Such a disregard is - in a general view - reflected by the uncertain position of our material in the

essentially chronological outlook dominating a number of classifications of ancient Aramaic, and involving the basic brackets of Old (or Early) Aramaic and Imperial (or Official) Aramaic. Thus, e.g., for R.Degen[61] and J.A.Fitzmyer[62] the epigraphs on Assyrian clay tablets do not pertain to an Old Aramaic phase (10th - 8th centuries); on the other hand, according to S.Segert[63], they must be viewed as constituting an Assyrian dialectal variety within Old Aramaic - the latter being considered as terminating with the 7th century B.C. A subtler position on the material was taken by G.Garbini (1956)[64], who - while establishing a clear partition between Old and Imperial Aramaic at the end of the 8th century - had on the other hand suggested that the dialectal subdivision of "aramaico d'Assiria" did not respect such a partition.

Certainly, in recent years, the limits of a merely chronological classification of ancient Aramaic have become progressively apparent - in correspondence to the growth of attention to the remnants of Aramaic from Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Mesopotamia on the part of Semitists. Thus, S.A.Kaufman[65] utilizes the term "Mesopotamian Aramaic" with reference to "the Aramaic texts known from Mesopotamia up until the cuneiform incantation from Uruk, probably of the early Seleucid

61. *Altaramäische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1969, 1-3 (= *AAG*).
62. *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran cave I. A Commentary*, Roma 1966, 22 ff.; also, id., *A Wandering Aramaean*, Missoula 1979, 60-63.
63. *Altaramäische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1975.
64. *AA*, 270-272, 279, 281-282.
65. *Influences*, 8-9.

period". The differences that mark Mesopotamian Aramaic from other forms of Old Aramaic are "dialectal", and essentially involve the greater degree of contact with Akkadian-speaking peoples enjoyed by Arameans "of the upper and middle Euphrates and its tributaries" as well as by "Arameans living in the immediate boundaries of or actually in Assyria and Babylonia themselves". As for the relation of Mesopotamian Aramaic with Imperial Aramaic, Kaufman argues that "several of the Imperial Aramaic texts may have their origins in Mesopotamia". Independently, but in line with previous contributions, Mesopotamian Aramaic is therefore viewed by Kaufman as a full-fledged subdivision of ancient Aramaic, which interrupts - as far as the Mesopotamian region is concerned - the continuity between Old and Imperial Aramaic, even stretching far down into the period in which the remainder of the Aramaic-speaking world made use of the official administrative language of the Achaemenian empire.

The term "Mesopotamian Aramaic" has been also, and more recently, utilized by J.C.Greenfield[66], but in a quite different acceptation from Kaufman's. For Greenfield also, Mesopotamian Aramaic "emerged in the area of Aram-Naharaim along the banks of the Habur and Balikh rivers" and "naturally spread into Assyria proper"; but then, it "spread into Aram proper with the Assyrian conquests". Through this formulation, material as chronologically widespread and geographically eccentric as the Bar Rakib Aramaic inscriptions[67] and the Neirab stelae[68] is to be viewed as

66. *The Dialects of Early Aramaic*, *JNES* 37 (1978), 93-99.

67. *KAI* 216 ff.

68. *KAI* 225-226.

pertaining to a single dialectal group together with our -truly Mesopotamian- epigraphs. On the other hand, it must be noted that Greenfield excludes from Mesopotamian Aramaic all documents from the Neo-Babylonian period - such as the Caquot tablet[69] - as well as the Assur ostracon of approx. 650 B.C., insofar as it was written in Babylonia, and thus presents local dialectal traits. Again differently from Kaufman, no tight relationship is envisaged between Mesopotamian Aramaic and Imperial Aramaic. The two may, in fact, be made out as distinct outcomes proceeding ultimately from the literary language known from monumental texts from Syria (and "shared by the Arameans of Syria and the Arameans of other areas") termed Early Standard Aramaic.

* * *

Alongside the contextual elements hitherto quoted as shaping the definition of Mesopotamian Aramaic, both the authors who utilize the term list, of course, a number of purely *linguistic* facts or data in favour of the distinction of this dialect from other expressions of the language in the 1st millennium B.C. These facts are different from one analysis to the other, but they are noticeably few in number in both cases. For Kaufman, Mesopotamian Aramaic, apart from a high percentage of loanwords, is specifically characterized by: (1) "the frequent use of *zy* as a genitival particle"; (2) a relatively free word order in comparison with Old

69. A. Caquot, *Une inscription araméenne d'époque assyrienne*, in *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*, Paris 1971, 9-16 (cf. further E. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 77-82; F.M. Fales, *AION* 38 [1978], 273-282).

Aramaic; (3) the use of *y-* as the imperfect prefix, "though *l-* is used for the jussive"; (4) a correct use of noun states[70]. Greenfield, on the other hand, notices essentially one phonological feature as characterizing his particular range of materials: "two emphatic consonants are not found in the same vocable"[71].

Now, an additional check of the above linguistic features may be effected on the statue of Tell Fekheriye - a document published subsequently to both the analyses of Mesopotamian Aramaic just quoted. This is not, of course, the place to go into a lengthy examination of the 9th century bilingual monument; however, a general overview and an evaluation of the main problems posed by this text from the point of view of linguistic classification may be provided.

In a recent article[72], this writer has argued for the composite nature of the double text from Tell Fekheriye - taking up previous similar views but attempting to develop them further. The bilingual monument, as we have it, may be viewed as representing the product of a scribal "collation" between a bilingual epigraph A (=Ass. A and Aram. A)[73] and a further bilingual epigraph B (=Ass. B

70. Kaufman, *Influences*, 156.

71. *JNES* 37 (1978), 95. Cf. previously, Garbini, *AA*, 273, ad II.

72. *Le double bilinguisme de la statue de Tell Fekherye*, *Syria* 60 (1983) [1984], 233-250.

73. Resp., Assyrian, lines 1-18; Aramaic, lines 1-12 (but line 1 should be viewed as comprising a "framework"-clause, to be ranged in fact with Aram. B).

and Aram. B)[74]. In this writer's opinion, Part A was presumably conceived in Akkadian, and specifically in the literary dialect known as "Standard Babylonian", and thereupon translated into Aramaic -of an equally literary variety, corresponding to Greefield's "Early Standard Aramaic". Part B - the more recent text, to which A was prefaced - proves, instead, to be couched in the two "lower - level" varieties of both languages in this age, resp. in Neo-Assyrian and in Mesopotamian Aramaic, as may be made out from a series of punctual linguistic facts which follow, as far as Aramaic is concerned, the wider grid of elements established by Kaufman. But Part B presents a further distinctive trait from Part A: it shows a high degree of mutual interference between its two linguistic "morphs" - an interference running the gamut of linguistic expression from phonology to morphology to syntax to the lexical sphere and even to the sphere of rhetorical device. This interference of B may, from the merely statistical viewpoint, be described as having its "lead voice" in the Aramaic sector: but it should probably better be envisaged as the particular product of a single scribe, or scribal milieu, almost equally well versed in both the "colloquial" varieties of the languages utilized in the region[75].

74. Resp., Assyrian, lines 19-38; Aramaic, lines 12-23. These two divisions basically correspond to the ones suggested in *STF*, 68, which are however brought forth through consideration of the contents, not of the linguistic characteristics.

75. Just to give one example here, I would point out the equation between Ass. *sūtu* and Aram. *prṣ* (resp. Ass. l. 31, Aram. l. 19), which -in the proverbial setting of occurrence- is to be viewed as operating on the

Now, if this reconstruction holds good, it may be affirmed that undoubtedly the Aramaic text of Part B, taken unto itself, goes a certain way in confirming and extending the validity of the "rules" of Mesopotamian Aramaic as laid out by previous authors. In other words, this major testing ground fully upholds the notion that the Aramaic proceeding from the regions of Assyrian inhabitation or - as in this case - of strong and direct Assyrian influence must be set apart as a particular dialectal variety of Old Aramaic, as stated by Garbini, Kaufman, Greenfield, etc.

But more than this may be derived from the above sketch of the statue from Tell Fekheriye in a linguistic-historical perspective, in my opinion: for to confine the "profile" of this document to a classificatory grid along merely grammatical lines, and relevant to the West Semitic side only, means to avoid and miss entirely its major linguistic feature, represented by the constant and functional "bridge" of mutual interrelation and interference between the two languages attested in Part B. In other words, a complete linguistic-historical evaluation of the statue cannot do away with the feature of Akkadian-Aramaic interference - a feature well worthy, in my opinion, of becoming a full-fledged participant to the elements making up a description of most ancient Aramaic. To

stylistical level, not on the level of technical knowledge: i.e. the two units of measure are compared as hyperboles of "minimality" in Assyrian and Aramaic colloquial speech, not in view of their similarity of value. It is the same type of knowledgeable act of (reciprocal) translation which may be found when, say, a text in an European language bears a hyperbole which literally runs "He must have been two meters tall", and this is rendered in English as "He must have been seven feet tall".

put it differently: what ultimately distinguishes the variety of Aramaic attested in Tell Fekheriye Aram. B from, say, that of the inscription of Zakkur[76] is not only and not so much the greater presence in the former of specific grammatical solutions which may be referred to a "Mesopotamian" dialect complex within Aramaic; it is also and especially the fact that the text from the Habur region presents a much greater "area" of cross-reference, of actual s y m b i o s i s, with the late Akkadian linguistic and cultural heritage than does the stela from Afīs.

Let us now turn back to the material in the present corpus, which is - even at a cursory examination - the direct offspring of Aram. B of the Tell Fekheriye statue in its multiplicity of links, in its constant linguistic give-and-take, with the contemporary Assyrian environment. The notion of building a linguistic description in the light of a merely dialectological framework within Aramaic is even less justifiable here than for the statue. For our texts, in fact - due to their limited phraseological possibilities and to their high degree of repetition and codification - an analysis effected only in terms of "Mesopotamian Aramaic" grammatical features yields little in general, and precious little that is not to be found in other temporal or spatial phases of the language, as is shown by Delaporte's introductive pages. Further, a search for the distinctive dialectal (Mesopotamian) Aramaic traits along the lines established by previous authors would fatally leave to the side the large series of transcriptions, loanwords and loan-translations from Assyrian

76. *KAI* 202; for the name, cf. J.C. Greenfield, *JNES* 37 (1978), 93[9].

attested in the corpus itself: in other words, from the methodological standpoint one would be forced to separate such lexical items from the very rules which govern them[77].

In the light of the above considerations, then, it will be suggested to absorb - while certainly not abandoning - the idea of a "Mesopotamian Aramaic" dialectal variety into the wider theoretical grid and desciptive bracket of an "Assyrian/Aramaic symbiosis"[78]. This suggestion is brought forth here on grounds of methodological enrichment as well as of practical or operative effectiveness. For the first point, the confluence of the previous paradigmatic scheme ("variety") with a "syntagmatic" observation of the two languages in their reciprocal contacts and influences ("symbiosis") entails the possibility of defining specific

77. The latter is, in fact, the outcome of even such a detailed analysis as Kaufman's (*Influences*, passim), where the overall result (chapter IV, "Analysis and Conclusions", pp. 137 ff.) is obtained through a juxtaposition of "the lexical influences" (chapter II, pp. 30 ff.) and "the non-lexical influences" (chapter III, pp. 116 ff.) -and where the lexical chapter lacks a true analysis of the level of loan-translations implied in the contact between Akkadian and Aramaic. For the "renseignements philologiques" given by Delaporte in his edition of the Assyrian- (and Babylonian-) Aramaic texts, cf. *EA*, 12-21.

78. With inverted elements, this terminology is utilized by Y. Muffs, *Studies*, 189 ff., and appears to have been drawn therefrom in S.A. Kaufman, *An Assyro-Aramaic* egirtu ša šulmu, *Studies... Finkelstein*, 119-127. My impression is, however, that both the quoted authors had in mind rather the broader socio-cultural framework for the phenomenon than the specific linguistic reflexes it caused from the outset, which are our concern here.

linguistic realities ("dialects") not only in the light of time and geography, but also in the light of the social and cultural context which is behind them[79]. Still concerning method, to postulate an

79. I have benefited to some extent from the detailed analysis of a specific linguistic situation and the wide-ranging discussion behind it offered recently by A.V. Rossi, *La varietà linguistica nell'Iran achemenide*, *AION*, Sez. linguistica, 3 (1981), 141-196. The schemes suggested by Rossi at the end of his contribution (and based, fundamentally, on the notion that "the most complete interpretation of the linguistic data is therefore the one proceeding from the reconstruction of the repertoires of the social groups by categories of communicational situations": p. 191, translation mine) well deserve, in my opinion, to be tested in the near future on specific situations involving the earlier phases of Aramaic -and thus not only the interrelations of Aramaic with Akkadian during the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires, but also, e.g. the coexistence of different varieties in Sam'al/Y'DY. Preliminarily, however, and specifically as regards the presence of Aramaic in the Neo-Assyrian empire, I would go as far as to say that Aramaic was employed in all four of Rossi's "situations", i.e. (1) within the (oral) communication of an intra-ethnic community (obviously, the Arameans); (2) *idem* as regards the interethnic community (i.e. we may envisage not only an Assyrian-Aramaic spoken variety in an Assyrian-Aramaic community, but perhaps combinations involving Aramaic with other ethno-/glottonyms); (3) in oral literature (obviously, insofar as may be ascertained through "passive control": but the story of Ahiqar must have had an oral background - presumably, in an Assyrian-Aramaic context); (4) in written communication (cf. 1.4, above, conclusions). These situations should, moreover, be considered both for Rossi's "base" and "apex" of the social ladder: emblematically, from the communicational event intrinsic in the name of the obscure *Man-nu-ka-Se-e'* (cf. Fales, *CCENA*, 59) to the

"Assyrian/Aramaic symbiosis" means - on the other hand - to simplify some of the descriptive-historical issues involved in the definition of "Mesopotamian Aramaic". In this way, the focus of the phenomenon would decidedly be constituted by the particular developments of Aramaic taking place in the wake, and under the influence, of Assyrian imperial expansion (but which could well, in some cases, have continued after the fall of the empire) rather than by an ill-fitting regional framework. In essence, the "A/A symbiosis" would regard centrally and basically the Aramaic texts stemming from the regions and the time of direct Assyrian conquest - i.e. those regions and that time in which the fact "Assyrian empire" may be presumed to act as the major contextual substance, in itself and in its implications. However, effects and influences of the symbiosis may be analytically detected in the linguistics of adjacent regions and periods, in their blend with facts of different origin.

From the operative point of view, the notion of an "Assyrian / Aramaic symbiosis" allows, in my opinion, an approach to the material which may perhaps be regarded as technically more complex than the traditional one, but which is in fact based on a simplifying principle: *all* the data written in Aramaic alphabetic texts of the 9th-7th centuries B.C. are entitled to the same function of linguistic indicators, according to their individual characteristics (i.e. *not* merely according to their sphere of relevance - e.g. grammatical/non-grammatical - or to etymological factors - e.g. West Semitic/non-West Semitic). In other words, Aramaisms embedded in the Assyrian literary letter-prose of Adad-šumu-uṣur (cf. Fales, *VO* 3 [1980], 250[34]).

Assyrian names, toponyms, and terms in their alphabetic realization, as well as the actually Aramaic forms and onomasiological data will be considered together, as single parts of an unitary phenomenon of "symbiosis" - a phenomenon which, obviously, also implies cognizance of, and comparison with, all the same elements as the above when given in the cuneiform inscriptions of the same age. The factual outcome of this entire approach will be, to dissect the texts into the various - analytically established- aspects of reciprocal interference shown by them; so to speak, to extract and pile up the various tiles of the mosaic forming the "Assyrian/Aramaic symbiosis" itself. Concerning the Aramaic epigraphs on clay tablets, this range of operations will be made explicit in the following pages.

2.3. Linguistic analysis

In the corpus of Aramaic epigraphs on clay tablets from the Neo-Assyrian period, the following sectors of linguistic analysis may be singled out:

a. Grapho-phonemics: transcription of Assyrian names and lexical items (pp. 48-66)
b. Transcriptions modified by West Semitic interference (pp. 66-68)
c. Renderings of Aramaic names and lexical items (pp. 68-74)
d. Morphology: general characteristics of the corpus (pp. 75-82)
e. Elements of symbiosis in morphology (pp. 82-87)
f. Syntax: general and symbiotic characteristics (pp. 88-90)
g. Lexicon: the semantic areas (pp. 91-94)

h. Mechanisms of lexical interference (pp. 95-102)

* * *

a. Grapho-phonemics: transcriptions of Assyrian names and lexical items

The mechanism of transcription is among the better-known ones for the present corpus, and is also quite basic in character: it involves a simple writing out of the given linguistic element as it is perceived at a "heard" or phonetic level. In this sense, the transcription of Assyrian elements into Aramaic of the 7th century B.C. is quite similar to the opposite mechanism, that of the transfer of West Semitic linguistic realities into cuneiform script -a phenomenon which is well attested for the same historical period, especially for personal names[80]. In both cases, the assumption is that the social interrelation of bearers of different phonological systems resulted - due to the absence of a "codified" system of transcription - in individual scribal attempts at rendering the phonetics of the "other" system. Thus, a study of the mechanism of transcription between Assyrian and Aramaic implies an evaluation of both the regular and variant cases in the graphemic renderings, with an eye to their underlying phonetic, and thence

80. For a "communicational" analysis of the writing of West Semitic names in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform script, cf. F.M. Fales, *OrAn* 16 (1977), 41-68. In general on the grammatical aspects of these names, cf. R. Zadok, *WSB*, passim.

phonological, realities[81].

In the case of the present corpus, the study of transcriptions applies first and foremost to all the Assyrian onomastic data - a small collection which has been analyzed various times, though never systematically[82]. As noted by A.R.Millard[83], the value of such transcriptions lies in the fact that the Aramaic "heard" realization opposes the historical spellings employed for Assyrian onomastics in the cuneiform texts of the age: "from the Aramaic renderings, therefore, an insight into Akkadian phonetics is gained that cannot be found so easily from the cuneiform texts". On the other hand, as is indicated by the theory of languages in contact[84], no particular differences would seem to set apart the "heard-to-written" mechanism behind personal names, from that underlying other proper names (such as month names, toponyms,

81. Cf. in particular, for the cuneiform renderings, the examples of "improper encoding" studied in *OrAn* 16, 61 ff., which well illustrate, to my mind, the problems of phonological reconstruction in names written with the Neo-Assyrian logo-syllabic "code". No particular facts of "encoding" would, on the other hand, seem to characterize the Aramaic transcription of Assyrian names in alphabetic script -save, perhaps, for the case of the divine name *Ištar examined at the end of the present section.

82. Cf.G.R.Driver, *Aramaic Names in Accadian Texts*, *RSO* 32 (1957), 41-57; A. R.Millard, *Assyrian Royal Names in Biblical Hebrew*, *JSS* 21 (1976), 1-14.

83. Op. cit., 3.

84. See, in general, U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, The Hague 1963[2], and notice its use in the field of Assyro-Aramaic contact by Kaufman, *Influences*, passim; also, Fales, *VO* 3 (1980), 243 ff., and Tadmor, in *MsN* II, 449 f.

etc.)[85], and even lexical items *tout court*.

Thus, there can be no fundamental reason against viewing Assyrian names and nouns in the light of one and the same mechanism of transcription into Aramaic alphabetic script within the present corpus. In other words, no true inner hiatus may be discerned in e.g. the final clause of our text no. 3, *l'm rbsrs nbsrṣr*, "in the eponymy of the chief eunuch, Nabû-šarru-uṣur", as regards the rendering of its lexical and onomastic components[86]. Moreover, as will be seen in section b, below, both proper names and common nouns give rise to transcriptions which "rebound" on the consideration of Aramaic phonology in itself.

The sole difference between onomastics and other names or common nouns, from the particular point of view adopted here, lies in fact in the nature of the personal names themselves as meaningful sentences, i.e. in which different lexical elements are joined into a single morphophonemic continuum. This situation will call for a slightly distinct approach between the transcription of personal names and that of other materials in the following pages; however, the subsequent phonological evaluation will be as unitary as possible.

85. For West Semitic toponomastics in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian cuneiform, cf. R. Zadok, *West Semitic Toponyms in Assyrian and Babylonian Sources*, in Y. Avishur - J. Blau (Eds.), *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East*, Jerusalem 1978, 163-179; also id., *WSB*, passim. For Neo-Assyrian toponyms in cuneiform, cf. S. Parpola, *NAT:* it may be noticed in passing that this corpus is marked by a much more limited degree of "encoding" than is that of personal names from the same age.

86. For a syntactical particularity in this clause, cf. p. 88, below.

The Assyrian personal names (by which are meant names presenting linguistically East Semitic predicative parts) will be analyzed foremost, proceeding from their constitutive elements. No inner groupings of these constitutive elements (divine or other names, nouns, verbs, etc.) on semantic or morphological grounds will be envisaged. This is on the basis of the assumption that the personal name was perceived as a continuum on the "heard" level, and for the fact that no mechanisms of graphemic distinction of elements or complexes are at work in these alphabetic transcriptions - differently from the possibility of using both logograms and syllabograms for the rendering of West Semitic names in cuneiform. Since, however, the positioning of the single elements within the typically tripartite structure of these onomastics may have bearings on their transcriptions, the position of occurrence will be explicitly noted in the following chart[87].

87. The references of all names in the chart to the texts of the present corpus are given in index i at the end of the volume. For the meanings of the Assyrian onomastic elements, the reader is referred to K.L. Tallqvist, *APN*, 250-312 (index section). Cf. also in general J.J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, Leipzig 1939 (repr.: 1968).

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF LINGUISTICALLY ASSYRIAN ONOMASTICS BY ELEMENTS

Element	Conventional late-Akkadian correspondence	Positions I	II	III
'd	Addu(?)	*-rmmy*		
'ḥ (cf *ḥ*)	aḫu	*-bn*		
'l (cf l_2)	ilu	*-qb*		
'sr (cf *sr*)	Aššur	*-slmḥ*	*sb(')-*	*mng-*
			šlm-	
'ṣr (cf *ṣr*)	uṣur			*blsr-*
'rb'l	Arba'il			*pqn-*
'rbl	Arba'il	*-dr*		*mng-*
		-sr		
'rd (cf *ᶜrd*)	urdu (urad-)	*-'š*		
		-nbw		
'š	Ištar		*'rd-*	
			sr-	
			qbt$^{?}$*-*	
'šr (cf *sr*)	Ištar	*-t<r>b*		
b	abu/abū'a			*ḥkn-*
bḥr	upaḫḫir(?)		*pr-*	
bl	Bēl	*-dn*		
		-zr		
		-sr('ṣr		
bn	ibni/bani		*'ḥ-*	
			dd-	

Element	Conventional late-Akkadian correspondence	Positions I	II	III
g	kī		*mn*-R-*'sr*	
			mn-R-*'rbl*	
gb	gabbu	*-mr*		
gr	garū'a		*sr*-R-*nr*	
dd	D/dādu	*-bn*		
dyn	dayyān(u)	*-krbl*		
dn	iddina		*bl-*	*nbwsm-*
dr_1	dari			*srl-*
dr_2	dūru/dūrī		*'rbl-*	
			šr-R-*q'l*	
dry	dūrī		*nb-*	
hdd	(H)adad	*-smmy*		
zr	zēru/zērī		*bl-*	
			nb-R-*bn*	
zry	zērī		*nb-*	
ḥ (cf *'ḥ*)	aḫu/aḫḫē	*-knb*	*'srslm-*	
		-qby		
ḥbl	ḫabil	*-kn*		
kn	kēn(u)		*ḥ*-R-*b*	
			ḥbl-	
krbl	Kurba'il		*dyn-*	
l_1	lū		*sr*-R-*dr*	
l_2 (cf *'l*)	ilu			*rs-*
ly	ilī(?)/ilayya(?)		*nšk-*	

Element	Conventional late-Akkadian correspondence	Positions I	II	III
mm	mannu	*-g'sr*		
		-g'rbl		
mr	āmur		*gb-*	
n	ana		*pq*-R-*'rb'l*	
n'd	na'id		*šn-*	
nb	Nabû	*-dry*		
		-zrbn		
		-(?)zry		
		-smn		
		-srṣr		
nbw	Nabû	*-smdn*	*'rd-*	
		-šlm	*^{c}rd-*	
nr	nīru/nīrī			*srgr-*
nry	nūrī		*sr-*	
nšk	Nusku	*-ly*		
sb(')	šēpā	*-'sr*		
slm	šallim		*(')sr*-R-*ḫ*	
sm	šumu		*nbw*-R-*dn*	
smmy	šīmanni		*hdd-*	
sr$_1$ (cf *'sr*)	Aššur	*-slmḫ*		
		-grnr		
sr$_2$	šarru (šar)	*-'š*	*bl*-R-*(')ṣr*	
		-nry	*nb*-R-*ṣr*	
sr$_3$	šarratu		*'rbl-*	

Element	Conventional late-Akkadian correspondence	Positions I	II	III
srd	ašāredu		*sr-*	
^{c}rd (cf *'rd*)	urdu (urad)	*-nbw*		
pq	(u)pāq(a)	*-n'rb'l*		
pr	pir'u	*-bḫr*		
ṣr (cf *'ṣr*)	uṣur			*blsr-*
				nbsr-
q'l	qāli			*šrdr-*
qb	iqbī		*'l-*	
qby	iqbī		*ḫ-*	
qbt$^{?}$	qibīt(u)	*-š*		
rmmy	rīmanni/rēm(e)ni		*'d-*	
rs	rašī	*-l*		
šlm	sallim	*-'sr*	*nbw-*	
šmm	šimanni(?)		*nb-*	
šn	Sîn	*-n'd*		
šr (cf *'šr*)	Ištar	*-drq'l*		

I will now draw up a second list of correspondences, in which are noted the alphabetic renderings of a series of items (comprising month names, toponyms, divine names, and common nouns) which may be termed "Assyrian" insofar as they have precise -and as often as not, numerous - occurrences in the Neo-Assyrian legal texts in cuneiform. This list must be understood as of a selective nature.

TRANSCRIPTION OF LEXICAL ITEMS OCCURRING IN NEO-ASSYRIAN TEXTS

Item in the present corpus	Conventional late-Akkadian correspondence
'dr	*adru*, "threshing-floor"
'glh	*Ekāllate* (toponym)
'grt (cstr. st.)	*egirtu*, "document"
'yr	*Ayyāru* (month name)
'm	*ummu*, "boundary-stone, -line"
'rb'l	*Arba'il* (toponym)
'šr	*Ištar* (divine name)
'št (abst. st.)	*issūtu*, "marriage"
zwz	*zūzu*, "half(-shekel)"
ḥdwh	*Ḫanduate* (toponym)
ḥzn	*ḫazannu*, "mayor"
kpr	*kapru*, "village"
lm, l'm	*limmu, līmu, li'mu*, "eponymy"
mt	*mātu*, "land, country"
m^{c}lnh	*Mallanate* (toponym)
skl	*šukkallu*, "vizier"
smnh	*šamaniu*, "seventh (month)"
snh	*šaniu*, "deputy"
qšt	*Qaštu* (toponym)
rbsrs	*rab ša rēši*, "chief eunuch"
rbšqn	*rab šāqē*, "chief cupbearer"
rsh	*rešēti*, "first-fruits"
tḥm	*taḫumu*, "limit, boundary"

Summing up the material in the two lists just presented, we may note the following points and problems:

- *The notation of aleph.* Initially, aleph is attested in the majority of cases, i.e. consistently in the transcription of lexical items (*'dr, 'glh, 'grt, 'yr, 'm, 'št*) and in a certain number of onomastic elements (*'ḥ, 'l, 'sr, 'rbl*) in correspondence to Assyrian initial *a/i/u*. It also occurs internally at the morphemic boundary, again in the case of *'sr*, in that of *'ṣr*, and presumably also (on the basis of popular etymology) in that of *'rb'l* (=*Arba'il*). On the other hand, (a) the onomastic elements *'ḥ, 'l, 'sr, 'ṣr* present variant forms with apocopated aleph (*ḥ, l, sr, ṣr*) in the same or in different positions within the name, in any case always at the morphemic boundary; (b) the same apocope is attested - as the only form - for the elements *b* (=*abu*, etc.), *mr* (=*āmur*), *srd* (=*ašāredu*), *bḥr* (=*upaḫḫir*), *bn* (when corresponding to *ibni*), *dn* (=*iddina*), *n* (=*ana*), *qb, qby* (=*iqbi*). However, in some cases, this apocope is not devoid of parallels from the purely Aramaic documentation within the corpus (see section c, below, for *ḥrqy, zr^{c}l*).

Removed from the morphemic boundary, the use/absence of aleph in onomastics appears attested with little consistency. Forms such as *pr* for *pir'u*, and *gr* for *garū'a* constitute a first group, to which *krbl* for *Kurba'il* might be added. In *n'd* (=*na'id*) the Assyrian middle radical is reproduced, as is the variant aleph of *li'mu* in *l'm*, although *lm* renders the other versions of the noun, *līmu, limmu*. A case unto itself is finally represented by *q'l* for *qāl(i)*, in which may be envisaged the only use of aleph in the

function of mater lectionis within the lists given above.

In a series of cases, the notation of aleph is present at the morphemic boundary, in correspondence to the contiguity of two (same/different) vowels, pertaining to two different morphemic units: cf. *g'sr* (= *kī-Aššur*), *g'rbl* (= *kī-Arba'il*), *n'rb'l* (= *ana-Arba'il*), *sb'sr* (= *Šēpā-Aššur*). On the other, no aleph characterizes the cases of *rsl* (= *Raši-il*), *gbmr* (= *Gabbu-āmur*), etc. Cf. p. 68, below, for further discussion.

- *The notation of waw and yod.* The study of these two graphs within the above lists concerns their presence in final position (of names, or of morphemes thereof): only in the items *'yr* and *hdwh* do we find the use of *y* and *w* as semivowels, while only in *zwz* is waw attested as marker of long internal vowel. In final position, both graphemes are present as markers of *-ī*, *ū (û)* in the elements *dry* (=*dūrī*), *zry* (*zērī*), *nbw* (=*Nabû*); but all three such elements show variants lacking the two letters, though presumably with no underlying difference in formation (cf. dr_2, *zr*, *nb*). These alternances - it must be noted - are totally similar to cases occurring in the purely Aramaic onomasticon within the corpus: cf. e.g. *nsḥnghy* and *šnngh* on one hand, and the theonym in *nbwdlh* on the other. This group of data, then, gives rise to the suspicion of a "back" or "rebounding" interference from the practice of writing Aramaic names onto these transcriptions from Akkadian, as in other cases treated in section b, below.

Of particular interest is a further opposition: *qb* - *qby*, which seems to have been created by analogy to the preceding ones, since the relevant Assyrian form presents a short vowel (*iqbi*). Cf.

the "correct" case of *bn* = *ibni*.

In the two cases of *rmmy* (= *rīmanni*) and *smmy* (=*šimanni*), the notation of the 1st p. sg. pronominal suffix with verbs through final *-y* could be motivated by a further analogy with the scribal uses for the purely Aramaic material: cf., in our corpus, the name *'lmmny*, etc.

- *The shift from voiceless to voiced consonants.* This shift is present in four cases given above, concerning labials in *bḥr* (= *upaḫḫir*)[88] and *sb(')* (= *šēpā*), and velars in *g* (=*kī*) [89] and *'glh* (= *Ekallāte*). It has been often argued that such shifts reflect the Assyrian voiced pronunciation of *p* and *k*[90]. However, the two situations appear relatively different when viewed against the totality of materials which may be called forth for them.

The velar shift *k>g* is not only present both in names and other items within the present corpus; it is also well attested in other corpora of West Semitic alphabetic transcriptions of originally Neo-Assyrian onomastics and words. Cf. e.g. the royal names *tgltpl(y)sr* and *srg(w)n* in Old Aramaic and Biblical

88. On this element, cf. E. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 112; this author, however, interprets the entire name *prbḥr* as "Ber-upaḫḫer", i.e. envisaging a double shift (*p>b*, *b>p*). I have no cognizance of a parallel case for alphabetic *p* = cuneiform *b* (cf. *VO* 3 [1980], Tav. I, p. 262) and thus would understand *pr* as = Akk. *pir'u*, "offspring" (cf. *AHw.*, 856 a-b).

89. Notice further the names *mmgsr* (= *Mannu-kī-šarri*), in an unpublished Brussels tablet (*O.* 3655), quoted by E. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 98, and the seal attestation of *mmg'nrt* (J. Naveh - H. Tadmor, *AION* 28 [1968], 448 ff., with previous literature).

90. Thus, e.g. Millard, *JSS* 21 (1976), 8; Kaufman, *Influences*, 137, 139.

sources[91]; also, the Assyrian professional titles *sgn* (=*šaknu*) and *šgl* (*ša ekalli*) which entered Aramaic as loanwords[92]. In view of these data, and in the lack of a precise Aramaic counterpart to the phenomenon, it is reasonable to suppose that the transcription as <g> actually reflected a scribally "heard" (i.e. an Assyrian "spoken") reality.

Much less clear, on the other hand, are the reasons behind the realization as <b> of "expected" *p*. In the first place, the *p>b* shift is sporadically, but consistently known from Old Aramaic as regards native lexical realities[93]. Secondly, the materials outside of the lists presented above for the phenomenon are extremely scarce, and not specifically of Neo-Assyrian provenance: thus, the *snb* attested on the 8th century lion weights not only has earlier counterparts in Aramaic monumental texts[94], but, if considered as a direct derivation from Akk. *šinipu*, "two-thirds", must be viewed as an early loan from Babylonia, since the term is not known for Assyria[95]. The same goes for *susapinnu* (later Aramaic *šwšbyn(')/šwšb'n'*) - a Middle and Late Babylonian term[96]. All in

91. Millard, cit., 7-8.

92. Kaufman, *Influences*, 97.

93. Cf. Garbini, *AA*, 258; R. Degen, *AAG*, 31, and passim in the general grammars; recently, L.L. Grabbe, *UF* 11 (1979), 311- 314; A. Abou-Assaf, P. Bordreuil, A.R. Millard, *STF*, 43; F.M. Fales, *VO* 5 (1982), 75-78.

94. *CIS* II/1, 7, line 1 (*snb*); see also at Sam'al, *KAI* 215:6 (*'snb*, corrected to *snb* by Kaufman, *Influences*, 103).

95. *AHw.*, 1242a; contra, Kaufman, *Influences*, 154, on this word as part of loans which are "expected evidence of the cultural and political contact with and domination by the Neo-Assyrian empire".

96. *AHw.*, 1063 b.

all, then, even though the Neo-Assyrian cuneiform orthography does give rise in itself to suspicions about the shift of labials[97], I would rather consider the *p>b* shift in these Aramaic alphabetic transcriptions of Neo-Assyrian to reflect a "back" interference on the part of the West Semitic scribes.

- *The shift of sibilants*. As is well known[98], a specific phenomenon involving the written realization of sibilants took place in the Neo-Assyrian period: the graphemic opposition <s>::<š>came to refer to phonological realities which were inverted on their original values, i.e. <s> = /š/ and <š> = /s/. Evidence for this shift (which may have started in Middle Assyrian times) lies basically in the paradigm of the Assyrian verb *našû* as far as cuneiform is concerned: i.e. "within the NA system proper ... there is hardly any other evidence for this development"[99].

The basic evidence, in fact, comes from the transcription of foreign words/names in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform script, or - conversely- from the transcription of Assyrian linguistic realities in other scripts. Thus, cases like the following are to be ranged

97. Cf. Ylvisaker, *Grammatik*, 8, § 4; S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 255[457]; for NA cuneiform renderings of Aramaic, cf. Zadok, *WSB*, 261; Fales, *VO* 3 (1980), 263.

98. The basic study is by S. Parpola, *Assur* I/1 (1974), 1-10.

99. Ibid., 5[19]. Further evidence may however be summoned from variant (Ass./Bab.) renderings of Akkadian names, as stated by Zadok, *BiOr* 33, 229[9].

as primary materials for the shift:

alphabetic <s> (=/*s/)= cuneiform <š> (=/*š/)

in onomastics:
'sr / sr = Aššur
sb(') = šēpā
slm = šallim
sm = šumu
smny = šīmanni
sr = šarru / šarratu
srd = ašaredu
rs = rašu

in lexicon:
skl = šukkallu, prof. name
smn = šamaniu/šamanê, "eighth"
snh = šaniu/ šanê, "deputy"
rbsrs = rab ša rēši, prof. name

alphabetic <š> (=/*š/)= cuneiform <s> (=/*š/)

in onomastics:
šn = Sîn
nšk = Nusku
šlm = sallim

in lexicon:
šb' = sebe, "seven"
'št = issūtu, "marriage"
mšn = masennu, prof. name

Cases drawn from other corpora (e.g. Assyrian names in Old Aramaic and Biblical material, West Semitic names and toponyms in the rich body of cuneiform transcriptions of the Neo-Assyrian period) have been often assembled alongside the above data and their counterparts, i.e. the renderings of Aramaic names in the bilingual deeds of the present corpus (for which cf. section c, below)[100]. The majority of the cases confirm the shift (and its correspondences)[101]: and although its roots in Middle and Neo-Assyrian may remain partially obscure[102], there is no doubt concerning its relevance to an Akkadian linguistic sphere, with no interference from West Semitic being involved[103].

100. See Parpola, ibid., 4; E. Lipiński, *La correspondance des sibilantes dans les textes araméens et les textes cunéiformes néo-assyriens*, in *Atti del Secondo Congresso internazionale di linguistica camito-semitica (Firenze, 16-19 aprile 1974)*, Firenze 1978, 201-210; A.R. Millard, *JSS* 21 (1976), 7 ff.

101. For exceptions, cf. the end of this section, pp. 65-66.

102. A fricative-lateral phoneme (or phonetic variant) may have been at work, or may have entered the previous system, altering its internal relationships: on the question, long debated, cf. the discussion and bibliography offered by R.C. Steiner, *The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto-Semitic*, New Haven 1977, 144-148; add F. M. Fales, *OrNS* 47 (1978), 91-98, on a particular aspect.

103. An attempt to relate the phenomenon to specific linguistic and graphemic realizations of both the languages involved is that of Lipiński, *La correspondance*, cit., esp. p. 205 ff. : but basic objections (such as that the Aramaic /*t/ does not correspond to NA<s>, but to <t>, cf. e.g. Zadok, *WSB*, 247) may be brought forth against it.

- A problem case concerning sibilants is the alphabetic rendering of the name of the goddess traditionally known as *Iš̌tar*, which has four variants: (a) *š̌* (as in *'rdš̌*); (b) *'š̌* (as in *sr'š̌*, and perhaps also *qbt'?'š̌*); (c) *š̌r* (cf *š̌rdrq'l*); (d) *'š̌r* (by itself, cf. items list; also in *'š̌rt<r>b*). No form *'š̌tr-* (previously believed to be attested in no. 31 of this volume, due to erroneous readings) is known from the Assyrian-Aramaic corpus[104].

As is obvious, the couples (a)-(b) and (c)-(d) present the sole inner differentiation of an apocope of the aleph; the basic issue is, on the other hand, that of the mutual variance of the two couples themselves. A possible solution might be, to reckon with two distinct lexical entities, which might have coalesced through extralinguistic phenomena -and both of which underlied the logographic writting $^{d}15$ =*Iš̌tar* in cuneiform. On one hand, in the cases of (c) and (d), we should envisage the actual divine name, perhaps pronounced */iššar/* in the Neo-Assyrian period, as product of the well-known replacement of /št/ clusters by /lt/ in Middle Assyrian, and then by /šš/ in Neo-Assyrian (written: <ss>, as in *as-sa-kan*, perf. G. of *šakānu*)[105]. On the other hand, for (a) and (b), perhaps the presence of the word *iltu*, "goddess" (subjected to the same shift as above)[106] should be envisaged: this correspondence could have resulted "from the equation of Eštar as the goddess par excellence, rather than any assimilation of the *r* or abbreviation of her name (solutions that simply won't work)"[107].

104. Cf. Part Two, fn. 133.

105. Cf. W. von Soden, *GAG*, §§ 30h, 34d; Parpola, *Assur* I/1 (1974), 1-10.

106. Cf. Lieberman apud Kaufman, *Influences*, 141[14].

107. S.J. Lieberman to this writer, 23/IV/79, private communication.

It is a fact, of course, that no other deity in Neo-Assyrian times seems to bear a name with final abbreviation: but such a scribal procedure is far from absent in West Semitic scribal contexts, especially in connection with personal names[108]. In brief, therefore, no "final" result may for the moment be achieved concerning the name of this goddess in our corpus; and the situation is equally complex for West Semitic names in cuneiform bearing the same theonym[109].

- It is worth noting, finally, that a group of words of Common Semitic etymology employed in the present corpus, and thus in texts which (as may be seen already from the foregoing remarks) present a high degree of inter-linguistic correlation, and inter-linguistic consciousness, do not "fall prey" to any confusion or admixture as concerns the shifts of sibilants occurring in later Assyrian. This may been obvious in the case of *ksp*, "silver", which might have presented a relatively different vocalization from Ass. *kaspu* (= [*kašpu]?), or in that of *šql* vs. Ass. *šiqlu* (=[*siqlu]?), "shekel". It is less obvious in the case of the toponym *qš̌t* (text no. 59), for which the Assyrian correspondence is given as ^{URU}BAN-*a-a*, i.e. *Qaštayya* (=[*qastayya]?), with reference to the noun for "bow" in both versions. Further material for these "correct" transcriptions may be gained from random cuneiform versions of West Semitic names and toponyms -at times, in fact, involving common etymological

108. A case in point is that of Phoenician and Punic onomastics: cf. Benz, *PNPPI*, 235-237, and notice e.g. *grš* for *gr^{c}štrt*.

109. Cf. R. Zadok, *WSB*, 34 ff.

elements, such as the verb *Š'L, "to ask"[110]. In this light, then, the overall framework for the correspondence of sibilants between Assyrian and Aramaic still presents some "open" elements for future research.

b. Transcriptions modified by West Semitic interference.

In virtually all the cases hitherto examined, alongside some elements which point to areas of phonetic fluctuation within Neo-Assyrian, others may be ranged, in which it is clear that phenomena of secondary elaboration of the linguistic material on the part of the alphabetic scribes were present. Thus, even the data (Assyrian names and words) traditionally assumed to reflect univocally a perception of "heard" Assyrian linguistic reality, may in fact be viewed in the light of the reciprocal interference of the two neighbouring linguistic milieus under study. But the "rebounding" interference of the West Semitic milieu on such transcriptions may be set in particularly clear light as regards the following examples.

- At what is probably the merely lexical level, the name *ᶜrdnbw* (text no. 30) displays the presence of an initial ᶜayin against the expected aleph (cf. *'rdnbw* in text F:II) to render the Assyrian noun *urad-*, "slave of". This transcription would seem to have been caused by a lexical "contamination" of sorts, implying

110. Cf. R. Zadok, *BiOr* 33 (1976), 229; id., *WSB*, 245 on the particular phenomenon. In the area of loanwords, cf. e.g. the case of *ša ekalli* = West Semitic *šgl/šglt'*, discussed by Kaufman, *Influences*, 97.

the parallel West Semitic term for slave, *ᶜbd*[111].

- At the level of morphology, the cases of *'rblsr*, *hdwh*, *'glh*, *rsh*, and *mᶜlnh* may be ranged together[112]. In all such cases, the extant or reconstructed cuneiform counterparts may be shown to present a feminine-type suffixation in *-at/-at/-et* (*Arba'il-šarrat*, *Ḫanduate*, *Ekallāte*, *rešēti*, *Mallanate*[113]). That this affixation was not reproduced as such in the alphabetic transcriptions, seems to be due to the influence of the "rule" in Aramaic morphology, whereby the suffix *-t* is reserved for the construct state of the feminine noun, and not for the other states. Thus, the Aramaic scribes would have operated a "grammatical" reduction of the phonetically perceived realities to *-(V)h/ (V)Ø* . For possible exceptions, pp. 79-80, below.

- Still at the same level, in the noun *r'bšqn* (text no. 16), the presence of a masculine plural marker **-īn* would seem to point to a perception of the professional title *rab šāqē*, "cupbearer" as

111. A reading *ᶜbdnbw* is ruled out in this inscription, also in view of the Assyrian parallel Urad-Nabû (cf. commentary to text 30). In any case, this unwarranted appearance of an ᶜayin in lieu of aleph is of phonological interest also, since to some extent it "rounds out" the picture of the realization of West Semitic ᶜayin in NA/NB onomastics in cuneiform script, where -in virtually all positions- a prevalent realization as Ø alternates with the explicit notations of the phoneme through the "aleph sign" and signs with ḫ (cf. R. Zadok, *WSB*, 245-247).

112. Cf. already F.M. Fales, *OrAn* 16 (1977), 66; id., *OrNS* 53 (1984), 66-68, and cf. J. Wesselius, *AION* 40 (1980), 268, for comments.

113. For the toponym Mallanate, cf. the references given in Part Two, fn. 233.

a plural, which in the majority of attested cases it is not[114].

c. Renderings of Aramaic names and lexical items.

The grapho-phonemics of the purely Aramaic onomastic and lexical realities within the present corpus are the object of my third and last intervention in the field which is traditionally distinguished in the two aspects of "orthography" and "phonology". I will limit myself to a view of the most representative cases, also in the light of the contemporary cuneiform evidence for them.

- elision of aleph should occur in the case of *ḥt*, "one" (fem., for *'ḥt*), for which cf. p.80, below, as well as in the name *ḥrqy* -for which I have already noted the analogy with the Assyrian onomastic parallels, and which has cuneiform counterparts e.g. in *Ḫi-'-du-ri-'* and *Ḫi-li-ti-'* of later periods[115]. Internally, elision of aleph occurs at morpheme boundary in names presenting roots with third radical ^{c}ayin (*zr^{c}l*, *yd^{c}l*). In *ḥz'l* (=cuneiform *Ḫa-za-a-ìl*), the coming together of two alephs must be envisaged. For *qyrḥ*, cf. below, p. 73.

- the use of aleph as mater lectionis is a problematical

114. *AHw.*, 1182a, for attestations (notice the more common writing ^{LÚ}GAL KAŠ.LUL). The šin in *rbšqn* causes this case to be ranged with those discussed at the end of section a, pp. 65–66, above.

115. Cf. Zadok, *WSB*, 343a.

issue, although I tend to consider it attested[116]. While in the name *š'mt^{c}* (= cuneiform *Se-e'-ma-ta-a'*, no. 29), the aleph could in itself be viewed as consonantal in value, i.e. as the glottal stop resulting from the fall of the *n* in the divine name **Šin/Šien(a)*[117], it must be noticed on the other hand that the same divine name is implied elsewhere in attestations bearing the rendering *šy*[118] - e.g. in *mt^{c}<š>y*, text no. 54. Here the yod clearly served the function of mater lectionis for *ī/ē*, as may be further evidenced by cuneiform transcriptions *Se-*, *Se-e-*[119]. It may be therefore suggested that in some cases and contexts, aleph was

116. The literature on the debated issue of aleph as mater lectionis in Old Aramaic is given by Degen, *AAG*, 25[4], who strongly denies this possibility, together with other authors, against Garbini, AA, 247, and Segert, *AAG*. Notice that the cases of *ḥmš'* and *šlš'* (CIS II/1, 2, 3) quoted by Garbini (cit.) do not fall in the alternative possibilities for interpretation of the aleph (indication of determined state, consonant at beginning of syllable, part of root) given by Degen - although on the other hand their form might show some degree of interference from Late Akkadian.

117. For syllabical and other attestations of a variant Šiena in Neo-Babylonian Neirab, cf. F.M. Fales, *Or An* 12 (1973), 135[15]. Cf. also R. Zadok, *WSB*, 43, 261: this author considers the phenomenon involving the name of the Moon-god as *n* > Ø , and thus envisages the alphabetic cases with aleph as presenting a mater lectionis for *ē*. A "spoken" reality *š'* is instead affirmed by E. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 64 and fn. 7 ("the glottal stop of *Ši'* ..."; "... the pronunciation *-ši'* ...", etc.).

118. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 63–64, gives a series of examples from unpublished Brussels texts and other sources. Add, e.g. *'ḥš[y]*, *KAI* 233:10.

119. Cf. Fales, *Or An* 16 (1977), 64, for some examples of such writings; others in R. Zadok, *WSB*, 43.

employed to represent *ē*: for example, this may have been the case in the name *nn'*, which appears to be a Lallname variant to *nny* (= /nane:/ :: /nani:/)[120].

- *h* is mater lectionis for *ā* and *ē*, as may be desumed from all the cases in which it corresponds (with ∅) to the cuneiform attestations ending in *-at/āt/ēt* (cf.p.67, above). In the names *nbwdlh*, *šmšdlh*, the *h* should represent the third radical, and not the pronominal suffix of the 3rd p. sg., on the basis of the cuneiform parallels[121].

- *y* and *w* are attested as matres lectionis in final position for long vowels *ī* and *ū*, resp. (cf. e.g. *'lmmny*= cuneiform *Il-ma-na-ni*; or *šhrmwry* = *Si-ir/^{d}Še-er/^{d}Še-rù - nu-ri*/ZALÁG/ZALÁG-*i* in F, a; e and unpublished Brussels Assyrian texts [courtesy: P.Garelli]; or *šmw*,no. 58). Internally, *w* could represent the diphtong *-aw-* in *'ḫwh* and *brwh* (both, text no. 17), as it does in *hwš^{c}*, a personal name in text no. 5, which has the cuneiform counterpart *Ú-se-e'* (cf. elsewhere in Neo-Assyrian texts, *A-ú-se-e'*)[122]. As for *y*, in *byt*, *hykl*, *byn*, *bynyhm*, etc., it should consistently represent the

120. Cf. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 87, 113, for an interpretation of both name-types in the sphere of Luvian ("brother"); Zadok, *WSB*, 75-76 and id., *BiOr* 33 (1976), 227, would rather see in such names hypocoristica involving the divine name Nanā.

121. Cf. Zadok, *WSB*, 85, with literature. For *-h* as mater lectionis in Old Aramaic, cf. e.g. Garbini, *AA*, 247; Degen, *AAG*, 25; for other cases, in the statue of Tell Fekheriye, see Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, Millard, *STF*, 39 (the more complex case of *šlh* has been further discussed by S.A. Kaufman, *Maarav* (1982), 160 ff.; R. Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), 117-118; F.M. Fales, *VO* 5 (1982), 80-82).

122. R. Zadok, *Jews*, 26, 36, for this name.

diphtong *-ay-*: although the evidence is not unequivocal, ranging from Old Aramaic *bny* and *bnyhm*[123], and Aramaic toponomastics in cuneiform presenting the element "house" as **bê*[124], alongside Neo- and Late Babylonian lexical attestations of *ba-a-a* (/bay/) and *ba-a-a-tú* (/bayt)[125].

123. Cf. Degen, *AAG*, 62; further cases are given by E. Kutscher, *A History of Aramaic* [Hebrew], Jerusalem 1971, 8-9, 12-13, 48). As noticed by R. Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), 118, the statue of Tell Fekheriye presents both *bt* and *byt(h)*. Slightly apart from these cases, for which an alternance *ay/e* or an overall reduction *ay* > *e* may be argued, we may set that of *hykl*, an ancient loan from Akkadian (cf. Kaufman, *Influences*, 27), where *-y-* is consistently noted (*DISO*, 64; for the possible exception of *'glh* = *Ekallāte* of the present corpus, cf. Zadok, cit., 118[1]); if considered comparable to the case of the name *tgltpl(y)sr* = Akkadian *Tukulti-apil-Ešarra* (thus A. Poebel, *AS* 3, 49[3]), the writing *hykl* can be viewed either as marking a dyphtong (with Degen, *AAG*, 27), or as showing an "internal mater lectionis" (with Garbini, *AA*, 273; F.M. Cross - D.N. Freedman, *AOS* 36, 29[69]; cf. also A.R. Millard, *JSS* 21 [1976], 7). The latter hypothesis seems more probable, also in the light of the many plene spellings now displayed by the Aramaic of the statue from Tell Fekheriye (cf. Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, Millard, *STF*, 39-42; also Zadok, cit., 117-121): in addition, some of the cases attested in the statue itself -such as *swl*, *nyrgl*, *gwzn*, etc.- lend themselves to the suspicion that the value of internal *-y-/-w-* in Old Aramaic should be examined with an eye to vowel quality, and not only quantity. The same might be said for the much-discussed *'šwr* = **Aššur* in Bar-Rakib I 9, II 9.

124. See R. Zadok, in Y. Avishur - J. Blau (Eds.), *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East*, Jerusalem 1978, 166:10, 170:32 and fn. 12.

125. Cf. Zadok, *WSB*, 257.

- sibilants follow the framework indicated above in a, i.e. alphabetic <š> (regardless of its etymological nature) will correspond to <s> of the cuneiform transcriptions, as in the case of *ḥbš* = *Ḫa-am-bu-su*, no. 17, *š'mt*^{c} = *Se-e'-ma-ta-a'*, no. 29, etc. The opposite phenomenon, alphabetic <s> = cuneiform <š> is evidenced e.g. in onomastics bearing the divine name *nsḥ* (cf. *Na-áš-ḫu*, *Na-šuḫ* in cuneiform[126]).

- no particular features, correspondences, etc., mark out the allegedly Proto-semitic phoneme /*ś/ in the present corpus[127]. Thus, it has been considered legitimate to transcribe all cases of the Aramaic alphabetic "šin" grapheme as š, i.e. not to introduce discretional etymological interpretations within the transcription of the texts. Cf. names such as *šgb*, *šmš+*, etc., and lexical items such as *š*^{c}*r*, *šhd*, etc.

- as in all previous Aramaic texts (with the notable exception of the statue of Tell Fekheriye)[128] the phoneme /*t̲/ is rendered by the grapheme <š> in our corpus (e.g. *yšb*), while NA cuneiform has <t>. A particularly interesting case in this connection is offered by the double (cuneiform / alphabetic) version of a name in no. 25: ^{d}ASARI.LÚ.ḪI-*ḫu-ut-nu* (=*Marduk-ḫutnu*) and [*mrd*]*k*$^{?c}$*šny*, which not only throws light on a hitherto unexplained attestation in the Akkadian vocabularies, but allows to postulate a series of cognate

126. Cf. the list given in *ACF* 13/3 (1974), 188.

127. However, ways of singling out the phonetic reality [ś] seem attested in the contemporary corpus of West Semitic names in cuneiform: cf. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 106; Zadok, *BiOr* 33 (1976), 229 ff.; Fales, *Or NS* 47 (1978), 91-98.

128. Where /*t̲/ = <s>; cf. Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, Millard, *STF*, 43 ff.

West Semitic roots centering upon *^{c}T̲N, presumably with the meaning "to be strong, etc." (cf. commentary ad text no. 25).

- As in all previous Aramaic texts, the phoneme /*ḍ/ is rendered by the grapheme <q>, as in *'rq*, *qn'*, *^{c}q*, etc., and in the name *ḥrqy* (from the root *RḌY)[129]. Elsewhere, <q> refers back to etymological /q/, with one exception, discussed below.

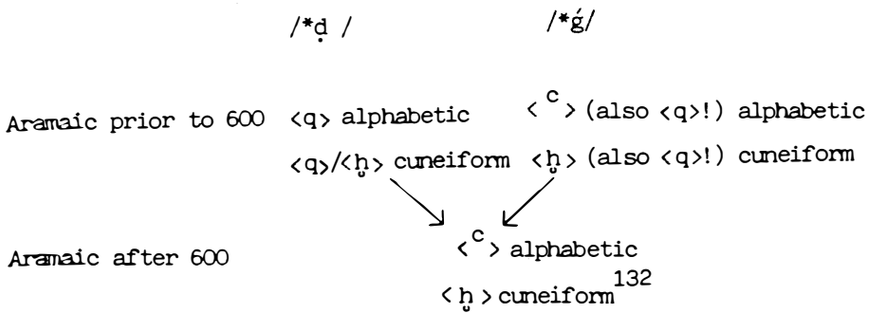
- in the name *qyrḥ*, discussed by this writer in detail[130], with its punctual cuneiform parallels *Ḫi-ri-aḫī* (PAP^{MEŠ}) and *Qi-ri-aḫi* (PAP), the entire system of graphemic referents (alphabetic <q>; cuneiform <q> / <ḫ>), which elsewhere points to etymological /*ḍ/, cannot be attributed to such a phoneme, since a root *ḌW/YR is non-existent. On the basis of previous hypotheses concerning the cuneiform renderings (Tallqvist; Zadok)[131], this writer has suggested to reconstruct the root as *ǴWR, "to rouse oneself, to awake". In this light, alphabetic <q> for /*ǵ/ would represent an interesting residue from a phase preceding that of Old Aramaic, where /*ǵ/ is rendered by <^{c}>: and that it was a random residue may be further supported by comparison with another name in our corpus, *'d*^{c}*r* = cuneiform *Adad-ḫa-ri*, again presumably going back to the root *ǴWR. In brief, in view of this case, the graphophonemic outlook of /ḍ/ and /ǵ/ in Old and Imperial Aramaic would come to

129. For this root, cf. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 123 ff.; Zadok, *WSB*, 87.

130. *L'enigmatico* qyrḥ, *ACF* 19/3 (1980), 7-14.

131. Resp., *APN*, 283-284; *WSB*, 84, 427.

look like this:



132. Cf. the conclusions of the article (cit., 11-12 and 14[42]) for references to the connections between *ḍ and *ǵ long ago suggested by T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, Halle 1875, 73, and taken up by various authors subsequently, e.g. S. Moscati, *CGSL*, 30; R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, I, Berlin 1964, 214, 218; G. Garbini, *Le lingue semitiche*, 2ª ed., Napoli 1985, 126-127.

d. Morphology: general characteristics of the corpus.

In this section, the evidence shall be presented in a series of lists, followed by specific remarks. All numbers = texts in this corpus.

(1) Nouns: singular, lacking suffixation

absolute state	construct state	emphatic state
'm, 58	*'ḥ*, 25?	*'dr'*, 53
zwz, 58	*'m*, 58	*hykl'*, 43
ḥṣd, 47,49	*'rq*, 23	*ḥql'*, 10,32
ksp, 13,50,58,a,b,d,g	*br*, 3,6,7,9,38,46,49,51,g	*ksp'*, 13,20
skl, 49	*ḥzn*, 49	*lbb'*, 45
ᶜq, 41	*ḥtm*, 49	*mlk'*, 3,7,38
rbsrs, 3	*yrḥ*, 49	*yrḥ'*, 50,51
šbᶜ, 54	*kpr*, 18, I	*spr'*, 49
šb', 51, cf. p. 62	*krm*, 29	**qn'*, e
šhd, 49,51,54	*lm*, *l'm*, cf.(5)	
šql, 52	*spr*, 58	
tḥm, 58	*rby*, 49	
	rbᶜ, 50, 51	

(2) Nouns: singular, with feminine-type suffixation

absolute state	construct state	emphatic state
mnh, 17	*'grt*, 20,35, II	*'mt'*, 17
dnt, 49	*'rbᶜt*, 51?	*byt'*, 61?

absolute state (ctd.)	construct state (ctd.)	emphatic state (ctd.)
(*'št*, 30;	*byt*, 16,28,44	
smnh, 50;	*brt*, 14,17	
snh, 3 -	*dnt*, 4,5,10,14,16,17,19,23,	
see p. 56)	24,26,27,31,32,37,49,I	
	ḥt, 17	
	mt, 16	

(3) Nouns: dual and plural, lacking feminine-type suffixation

Dual:

		emphatic state
		ydy', 45

Plural:

absolute state	construct state	emphatic state
'drn, 48	*'ḫwh*, cf. (4)	*ḥqly'*, 37
(*'nš*, 5, cf. sect. e)	*brwh*, cf. (4)	*šhdy'*, 53
ḥbln, 54,55?,	*ḥqly*, 16	*š^{c}ry'*,15,49,53
ḥzrn, 52?	*ywmy*, 13	
ḥṣdn, 3, 9	*ḥyy*, 58	
qšrn, 15		
šhdn, 46,47,49,50,52,58		
š^{c}rn, 3,6,7,9,46,47,48, 49,53,54,55,56		
šqln, 13,50,51,58,g		
(*rbšqn*, 17, cf. p. 67 f.)		

(4) Pronouns

Pronominal suffixes:

with singular:	masc.	3rd sg.	*-h*	*'ḫh*, 25
				rbyh, 49
				rb^{c}h, 50,51
	fem.	3rd sg.	*-h*	*brth*, 14,17
		3rd pl.	*-hm*	*'mhm*, 58
				mnhm, 53
with plural:	fem.	3rd sg.	*-wh*	*'ḫwh*, 17
				brwh, 17
	masc.	3rd pl.	*-yhm*	*bynyhm*, 58

Relative pronoun:

(a) as such: *zy*, 15, 21, 28

(b) as genitival marker: (i) *zy*, 3,5,7,9,10,17,46,47,48,49,50, 55,60; cf. also 16,18,23

(ii) *š*, 30,37

Indefinite pronoun:

mn, 53, 58

(5) Prepositions and conjunctions:

Prepositions:

b, 3, 9, 13, 16, 17, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54

byn, 45, 58

l, 13, 19, 20, 22?, 28, 43, 44, 53, 54, 58, a, d

mn, 3, 9, 38, 53, I, g

ᶜl, 3, 7, 9, 15, 21, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58, a

qdm, 28, 55, 58

Nouns in prepositional usage:

l'm / lm, 3, 9, 49 (cf. *bl'm*, 58)

Conjunctions:

l, 53, 55

hn, 53

w, passim

(6) Verbs

Main stem: perfect:	masc. 3rd sg.	*'ḥz*, 17
		yhb, 49
		lqḥ, 49
		ntn, d,g
	3rd pl.	*rhmw*, 13
		šmw, 58
		šqlw, 58
Main stem: imperfect (*yqtl*):	masc. 3rd sg.	*yntn*, 53[?]
		yrbh, 51
		yrby, 50
		yšb, 58
	3rd pl.	*yntn*, 48, 53
lqtl-form	3rd pl.	**lmtnn*, e

Main stem: passive participle	*lqḥ*, 38[?]
Redoubled stem: passive participle	*mqšrn*, 15
Causative stem: perfect	
masc. 3rd. sg.	*hṭᶜm*, 58

Notes

ad (1):

- as elsewhere in Aramaic, *'rq* and *qn'* should be understood as feminine in gender (cf. *DISO*, 25, 218, resp.).

- the word *'m*, "boundary, etc." could also be feminine in gender, since it corresponds to Neo-Assyrian *ummu*, and has a meaning derived from that of "mother, origin", etc.[133].

ad (2):

- *'rbᶜt*, "four" (fem.) is coupled with *šqln* in text no. 51, thus following the normal rules of concordance for numerals in Semitic[134].

- *dnt* (abs. st.) should be understood as involved in an expression which is the product of a loan-translation in text no. 49, q.v.; thus, with no relevance for the possibility of an absolute state feminine formation in *-t*, sporadically attested alongside *-h* in Old

133. Cf. *AHw.*, 1417: 16.

134. Cf. S. Moscati, *CGSL*, 116, ad § 14.2.

Aramaic[135].

- *ḥt* is lexically difficult, since "one" (fem.) is attested as *(')ḥdh/t* in Old and Imperial Aramaic, but -if considered plausible- presents no problems in its concordance with *mmh*, "mina" in text no. 17.
- reading of *byt'* in text no. 61, q.v., is a possibility, not a certainty; thus *'mt'* should be viewed as the only clear case for feminine sg. emphatic state nouns.

ad (3):

- the emphatic state dual (*ydy'*) is not attested in the Aramaic of previous periods.
- no plural with feminine-type ending is attested in the present corpus.
- *ḥyy* must be understood as a plural in the construct state, as in numerous attestations in Imperial Aramaic (cf. *DISO*, 86), and in Biblical Aramaic (Ezra 6:10: *m^{e}ṣallayin l^{e}ḥayyē malkā*).

ad (4):

- notice the 3rd p. sg. fem. suffix (with plural nouns) *-wh*, which differs from the Old and Imperial Aramaic *-yh*. In view of the extremely difficult epigraph on text no. 17, q.v., where this suffix is present, judgment on this formation should, in my opinion, be reserved in await for possible future checks.
- as elsewhere (cf. *DISO*, 34), *byn* takes the plural suffixes after it.

135. On this problem, cf. recently J. Wesselius, *AION* 40 (1980), 268.

- on *zy*, *š*, and *mm*, cf. pp. 83-84, below.

ad (5):

- on the "symbiotic" uses of *b*, *l*, *mn*, *^{c}l*, *qdm*, cf. pp. 83ff.
- for *hn* as conjunction, "if", and not as interjection, cf. the commentary to text 53.
- for the possible use of *w* as an abbreviation of *šhd*, see p. 90, below.

ad (6):

- the two attestations *yrby* and *yrbh* (texts 50, 51, resp.), might be envisaged as a distinction between 'short' and 'long' imperfect forms, in the light of the rules established for Old Aramaic in Degen, *AAG*, 76-77, § 62. On the other hand, the presence of the totally parallel Neo-Assyrian verbal form *irabbi*, "(it) will increase" (cf. Postgate, *FNALD*, 204a) poses the problem of whether one should in this case posit a morphological interference from Assyrian (i.e. in practice a full take-over of the verbal form, to which the variants in writing would be attributed). Admittedly, this would be the sole such case in the corpus, as against the well-attested practice of loan-translations (cf. sections g, h, below).
- in **lmtnn*, as reconstructed for a yet unpublished text (cf. part II, F, text e), a *lqtl*-type long imperfect form could be present. For such a form in contemporary Aramaic onomastics, cf. *'llḥz[y* in text no. 24[136].

136. And see Fales, *Orientis Antiqui Collectio* 13 (1978), 206-207; R. Zadok, *WSB*, 91-96.

- in *mqšrn* (text 15), we might have to deal with a passive participle of the redoubled stem; but cf. the commentary for the alternative *qšrn*.
- in *ḥṭ^{c}m*, a causative-stem perfect could be attested: cf. the discussion on the meaning of this verb ad no. 58 in Part II.

e. Elements of symbiosis in morphology.

The basis for the following remarks will again be constituted by the lists of morphological elements drawn up in section d, above. In this case, however, the attention to morphological facts of the present corpus will be shifted from the area of inner comparisons within Aramaic to that of comparisons between Aramaic and Akkadian usages. Thus, a certain degree of overlap with the sectors of syntax and lexicon may ensue in the cases discussed below.

ad (3):
- in *'nš*, text no. 5, a collective noun without plural marker, the influence of the plurale tantum *nīšu*, *nīšū* of the parallel Assyrian text may have been at work. Certainly, *pace* Delaporte (*EA*, 35), the noun is used here with the meaning "people, slaves", i.e. quite differently from the *'nš* of the Panammuwa inscription and the Teima stele ("mankind, humankind": cf. *DISO*, 19 for attestations).

ad (4):
- as has long been recognized[137], *zy*, the relative pronoun of Old Aramaic, begins to find wide use also as genitival marker in the texts of the present corpus, in correspondence to the use of *ša* in the parallel Neo-Assyrian material. In detail, the correspondence between *zy* and *ša* includes not only the use of *zy* to indicate relevance/possession (e.g. "the barley of ..."), but also to mark provenience ("of [=from] the site x"), in alternance to *mn* (cf. nos. 18, 23)[138]. Both uses are already attested in the Tell Fekheriye text[139].
- a second genitival marker is attested in two texts (nos. 30, 37)

137. Cf. Garbini, *AA*, 271; F. Pennacchietti, *Studi sui pronomi determinativi semitici*, Napoli 1968, 11 ff., and esp. 14-16; M.Z. Kaddari, *Construct State and* di-*Phrases in Imperial Aramaic*, in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies (Jerusalem, 19-23 July 1965)*, Jerusalem 1969, 102 ff, and esp. 104-105; S.A. Kaufman, *Influences*, 130 ff.

138. These cases conform to Kaddari's "B = determined noun" type, for which cf. op. cit., 105ff., and which is considered of "Babylonian" influence.

139. Cf. Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, Millard, *STF*, 56-58. To be noticed is the fact that *šbṭ zy nyrgl* in Aram. 23 is not a *zy*-phrase with *šbṭ* as member A (as believed ibid.; and also by J.C. Greenfield - A. Shaffer, *Iraq* 45 (1984), 113, 116) but presents two distinct elements, *šbṭ* (= Akk. *šibṭu*, l. 37) and *zy nyrgl* -the latter being a calque of the Akkadian construction with *ša* of possession/relevance which comes to form an independent lexical unit (cf. *GAG* and *GAG Ergänzungsheft*, ad § 137c), "that of Nergal", i.e. "(the illness) ascribed to Nergal", which corresponds to *diliptu*, "sleeplessness" of the parallel Akkadian text. See now Fales, *Syria* 60, 247-248.

as *š*; this nota genitivi, in itself so close to Akkadian *ša*, presents in fact two problems. In the first place, it shows an exception to the "rule" on the correspondence of sibilants, which ranges it with other cases discussed in section a, p. 65, above[140]. In the second place, it forces us to reopen the question of whether the same pronominal element was attested in the incipit of the two Neirab stelae, viz. in *ššnzrbn* and *š'gbr* -or minimally in one of them, in view of the recent negative conclusions reached by S.A. Kaufman[141].

ad (5):

- the preposition *b* is employed, as already in Old Aramaic, with many connotations, some of which technical. Of particular interest, in this light, is the correspondence of *b* with Akkadian *ina/ana* in the notation of interest rates for barley and silver loans, i.e. instrumentally ("by") in nos. 50 (*brb^{c}h yrby*) and 51 (*brb^{c}h yrbh*), or terminative-locally ("to, at"), in nos. 3 (*5 b 6,5*), 9 (*5 b 6*), 49 (*rbyh 1 b 1,5*), and 54 (*2 b 4*). Both usages, it may be noted, are well attested in the Aramaic of the Achaemenian period (cf. *DISO*, 272), but hardly if at all in previous phases.

- the preposition ^{c}l has obtained in the standard dictionary (*DISO*,

140. Notice that *ša ekalli* > *šgl*, etc. (cf. fn. 110, above) presents the same difficulties.

141. S.A. Kaufman, *JAOS* 90 (1970), 270-271; for *ša* as a loan-form in the Neirab texts, cf. Kaddari, cit., 105[13]; while Pennacchietti, cit., 12 views the two šins of Neirab possibly as "un calco delle analoghe formule sepolcrali attestate finora solo in ambiente punico, in cui... viene impiegato il pronome *š*".

208) a specification in the particular meaning "exprimant que le devoir de faire quelque chose ou de payer une dette repose sur quelqu'un", with quotes from our texts and later materials[142]. It may be noted here again -taking up the observation by Delaporte, *EA*, 13- that ^{c}l in this case is nothing but the rendering of the Neo-Assyrian expression *ina pān(i)*, "(debited) to" - a technical expression of perhaps neutral, but maybe even originally hostile, connotations[143]. The ^{c}l of indebtedness occurs in texts 3,7,9,15 (cf. below), 21,46,47,48,50,51,53,54 of the present collection; in the loan-contract no. 15, it would seem to be used differently, because it is followed by the name of the creditor, but the most plausibile solution is that of a scribal mistake. This use of ^{c}l is, of course, very frequent in later Aramaic materials, especially the legal documents from Elephantine[144].

- A different use of ^{c}l may be noted in no. 58: here, in the clause *mn ^{c}l mn yšb*, a loan-translation from Neo-Assyrian *maṣṣu ina muḫḫi manni ibballakatūni* would seem to be attested[145], i.e. ^{c}l would be used in one of its traditional meanings in Aramaic, "against"[146].

- the preposition *qdm* has two different uses in our material: possibly in no. 58, and again in no. 55, line 3, it should

142. Cf. also Muffs, *Studies*, 230 a with references.

143. Contra, *AHw.*, 822a ("zur zeitweiligen Verfügung"); J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 202 a ad 5 ("at the disposal of").

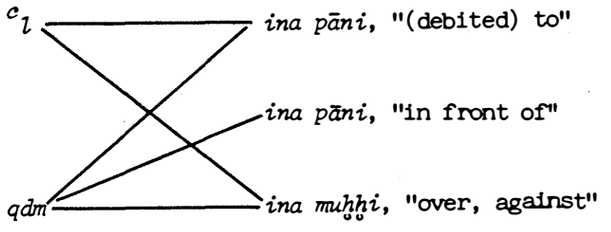
144. Cf. Muffs, *Studies*, 230a.

145. Cf. S.A. Kaufman, *An Assyro-Aramaic* egirtu ša šulmu, *Studies... Finkelstein*, 124 and fn. 51; For Neo-Assyrian *ina* UGU = *ina muḫḫu/i*, cf. *FNALD*, 199 a-b.

146. *DISO*, 210: 12.

correspond to Ass. *ina pāni* - in the general meaning common to both the West and East Semitic prepositions, "in front of" (in no. 58, after the verb **šw/ym*) and in the above sense of "(debited) to" (no. 55).

- On the other hand, in the silver-loan contract no. 28, *zy qdm byt* would seem to be a loan-translation of the Neo-Assyrian professional name *ša muḫḫi bīti*, "household administrator" (=lit., "he who is over the house(hold)"). Thus, the correspondences between *ʿl*, *qdm*, and their Assyrian equivalents may be thus charted:



ad (6):

- in the area of verbal tenses, Aramaic seems to employ consistently the perfect for all stipulations of the deeds, and the imperfect for all clauses (repayment, penalties, etc.) projected into the future: see thus e.g. *rhnw*, "have pledged", *šmw*, "have placed", *šqlw*, "have paid", and *yntn*, "will give", *yrbh/y*, "will grow", *yšb*, "will turn", etc. This use is, in general, similar to that of the later Elephantine contracts, and may be considered, similarly to the latter, part of an overall "West Semitic

orientation" of the verbal clauses of legal material[147], with little or no influence from the Akkadian tense system[148]. On the other hand, in no. 53, Obv. 4, if my interpretation of the clause is correct, a perfect peal should be attested in lieu of the imperfect, in a conditional sentence introduced by *hn* (*lh*)[149] - possibly as a reflex of the *šumma* + preterite construction which is one of the possibilities in Neo-Assyrian[150]. And a further exception might be seen in no. 38, where the form *lqḥ* -if understood as a passive participle- would point to the influence of Akkadian passive constructions in legal texts[151].

147. This view, which goes back to E.Y. Kutscher (cf. review of G.R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, *JBL* 76 [1957], 337-338; also id., *Two 'Passive' Constructions in Aramaic in the Light of Persian*, in *Proceedings of the International Conference of Semitic Studies*, cit., 132 ff., and esp. 134) is discussed, with reference to the Neo-Assyrian legal material, by Muffs, *Studies*, 22-23 fn. 4, and 196.
148. Of course, finite verbal tenses (and especially the present tense) are well attested in Neo-Assyrian juridical language: however, they are certainly more than balanced by the use of the stative, both in reference to the past to the present-future: cf. the standard formularies illustrated in J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 12, 13-14, 17, 18, 30, 37, 38, 40, 42-44, 50, 57.
149. Cf. the commentary to the text for this complex passage.
150. Cf. *FNALD*, 208b, for *šumma* before various tenses in legal contexts.
151. Cf. the commentary for this suggested reading. In any case, a passive participle would seem warranted by the following *mn* plus the name of the buyer.

f. Syntax: general and symbiotic characteristics.

As already noted by Kaufman in his analysis of "Mesopotamian Aramaic"[152], a relatively free word order characterizes the alphabetic texts subjected to Assyrian influence. In a perspective of symbiosis, however, the feature under examination may be observed as occurring especially when clusters or actual clauses formed by common lexical items or loan-translations from Assyrian are involved. In other words, it may be surmised that deviations on the normal Aramaic word order came about in connection with attempts to harmonize Assyrian phraseology with the requirements of Aramaic syntax. A few cases:

- in *l'm rbsrs nbsrṣr*, no. 3, the clause takes essentially from the common Neo-Assyrian formulary for eponym-dates in legal texts, but the precedence of the professional title on the personal name must be attributed to Aramaic interference. Notice that *l'm* (elsewhere: *lm*) is a noun in prepositional use, modeled on Ass. *limmu*, *limme*: cf. on the other hand *bl'm* in no. 58, which corresponds to the Assyrian *ina limme*[153].
- in no. 17, q.v., the verb *'ḫz* is placed near the end of a long clause, in some parallelism to the Neo-Assyrian phraseology for sales, involving the conclusive verb *laqā'u*, "to receive/take by purchase". This case would thus seem to represent an imperfect syntactic calque.
- in no. 49, both a clause with a definitely Assyrian-type word order (*šnn'd dnt lqḥ*) and one with a West Semitic-type antecedence

152. *Influences*, 132-133, 156.

153. Cf. *AHw.*, 554a, for both Assyrian formulae.

(*šmšdlh yhb š^{c}ry'*) are present.

- in no. 53, Rev. 1-2, the final clause of repayment (*mn qrb mn'h'l[m] / š^{c}ry' yntn*) seems a calque of Neo-Assyrian; on the other hand, the conditional sentence in Obv. 4 (*hn lh ntn š^{c}ry'*) indicates an Aramaic type word sequence, with the object in final position.
- again in no. 58, a mainly Aramaic word order is attested, in the clauses *ḥṭ^{c}m tḥm*; *wšqlw klbyd'l w^{c}zrn'l ksp*; *wšmw šlm bynyhm* - but the penalty clause *mn ^{c}l mn yšb*, clearly modeled on an Assyrian topical sentence, (cf. section e, above) reflects the word order of the latter.

Aside from the question of word order, features of interest in syntax may be pointed out for the following texts (and cf. section e, above):

- In a series of corn-loan documents (nos. 3, 6) the noun *š^{c}rn*, which opens the epigraph, is syntactically unconnected to the following clauses by genitival elements, and must be viewed as a sort of "title" or "label" to the texts. Somewhat the same practice is attested in no. 15, where the initial *mqšrn* (or *30 qšrn*) stands by itself; in no. 28, on the other hand, this isolation of the basic item of the epigraph is attested at the end of the text itself (*ksp'*). The remainder of the contract-type documents, on the other hand, show a genitival link between the initial item *š^{c}rn* and the name of the creditor, through *zy* and *l*, which is closer to the parallel Neo-Assyrian usage.
- An abbreviated formula is clearly attested only once in the corpus: in no. 58, the clause *ḫyy šhr wḫyy mlk'* lacks the verb -as may be made out by Neo-Assyrian parallels, since it is a decided

phraseological calque from contemporary cuneiform curse-formulae[154].

- Further abbreviations, of mixed nature, may be envisaged here and there in the corpus: thus, in no. 5, an isolated *g* should stand for a complete word (*gmr*? cf. commentary); and in no. 50, the *w* placed before all witnesses' names, including the first, might be viewed as some form of abbreviation for *šhd* -which precedes all names in no. 51. And in all other cases of witness lists presenting *w* (albeit from the second name onwards) perhaps a function beyond that of a mere conjunction might be envisaged: cf. the contemporary Neo-Assyrian IGI preceding witnesses' names, which surely was not meant to be read as *(ina) pān*, "in front of ...", as suggested by the sign, but had assumed the function of an "indicator" of the following name of a witness.

- Finally, a totally Aramaic syntactic usage might be reflected in no. 13, where -despite the difficulties of reading- two lameds preceding personal names, and thus presumably used as nota accusativi and *l* commodi, resp., are involved. However, and perhaps not by chance, the text *BM* 121043, i.e. the Assyrian text of our no. 37, shows a problematical clause equally involving two personal names (of opposite parties to the deed), both of which are preceded by *ana* -the second being certainly commodi, while the first might be a misused nota accusativi (since it precedes the subject of the clause)[155]. In other words, whatever the origin of this complex construction, there are grounds for surmising that it also entered into a sphere of Assyro-Aramaic interference.

154. See S.A. Kaufman, *Studies...Finkelstein*, 125.

155. Differently J.N. Postgate, *Iraq* 32 (1970), 141.

g. Lexicon: the semantic areas.

In his study on the influence of Akkadian on Aramaic, S.A. Kaufman has pointed out which loanwords are to be attributed to the dialectal bracket of "Mesopotamian Aramaic", although specifying the matter as follows: "As expected, there is a large number of loanwords, especially on the dockets, but one cannot be sure that all of the Aramaic forms represent actual Aramaic words and are not, in some cases, just transliterations of Akkadian forms"[156]. And in a footnote: "Might the dockets not have functioned as written records to be used by bilinguals who were literate only in the simpler alphabetic writing? If so, perhaps one should not even grant these words the status of 'foreign word' in Aramaic"[157].

Now, this formulation of the problem comes quite close to the perspective adopted throughout this chapter, that of a veritable symbiosis between Assyrian and Aramaic as characterizing the epigraphs assembled in the present corpus. As a function of this approach, it seems convenient to overcome the necessarily rigid tenets established by Kaufman for his attribution of the status of "loanword" to a term -and which yield the meager booty of 3 items drawn from this corpus, i.e. *skl*, *l'm*, and *dnt*[158]. Rather, it will be profitable to envisage the *entire lexical area* in terms of the mutual interrelations it depicts between the two linguistic entities involved. And to make such interrelations clearer, I will start out by charting the lexical area according to its

156. *Influences*, 156.

157. Ibid., fn. 78.

158. Ibid.

constitutive semantic/functional groupings:[159]

(a) Words for writing and documents:

'grt (cstr. st.), "deed"
dnt (abs./cstr. st.), "conveyance text"
ḥtm, "seal"
spr I, "scribe"
spr II, "deed"

(b) Words for titles and professional functions:

ḥzn, "mayor"
ḥṣd, "harvester"
l'm, *lm*, "eponym"
mlk, "king" (in *br mlk'*, "crown prince")
mšn, "steward"
skl, "minister, vizir"
snh, "deputy"
(zy) qdm byt, "household overseer"
rbsrs, "chief eunuch"
rbšqn, "chief cupbearer"

159. The groupings were established here on the basis of the nature of the material, and thus only with a general reference to those proceeding from other corpora, such as e.g. in S.A. Kaufman, *Influences*, 165-170. The single attestations of the lexical items within the corpus may be derived from the index section at the end of the volume.

(c) Topographical terms:

'dr, "threshing-floor"
'm II, "boundary-marker"
'rq, "land, town"
byt, "estate"
ḥql, "field"
kpr, "village" (in toponyms)
krm, "vineyard"
mt, "region, province" (in toponyms)
tḥm, "boundary"

(d) Legal jargon:

'ḫz, "to take, to acquire legally"
'št, "marriage"
dn db[b, "lawsuit and litigation"
ḥbl, "interest"
ṯ^{c}m, "to decide"
yšb, "to go back, to return"
lqḥ, "to take (into custody)"
ntn, "to give, to give back"
qrb, "to be close, at hand"
rby, "to grow (said of interest)"
rhn, "to pledge"
rsh, "(offerings of) first-fruits"
šql II, "to pay"

(e) Weights, measures, and amounts:

zwz, "half-shekel"
ksp, "amount, silver"
mnh, "mina"
šql I, "shekel"

(f) General vocabulary:

'ḫ, "brother"
'm I, "mother"
'mt (cstr. st.) "handmaid, female slave"
'nš, "people"
br (pl. *bnw-*), "son"
brt (cstr. st.), "daughter"
ḥyy, "life"
yd, "hand"
yhb, "to give"
ywm, "day"
yrḫ, "month"
lbb, "heart"
qn', "sheep"
šhd, "witness"
šwm, "to place"
šᶜrn, "barley"

h. Mechanisms of lexical interference.

Proceeding from the above list, the objective will be, to establish the relations between single lexical items (or groups thereof) and the corresponding Neo-Assyrian ones -not only insofar as they are attested in the documentation of the same age, but also as they occur in a comparable documentary context with that of our epigraphs. In view of the typologies established in 1.1., above, for the present corpus, the lexical comparison will be basically effected on Neo-Assyrian l e g a l material. The scope of this relatively "tight" synchronical evaluation, is obviously different from the study of the possible reciprocal influences of Assyrian and Aramaic in the course of time -i.e. the type of study effected by Kaufman for the attribution of the status of "loanwords" to specific lexical entities. Rather, the point of the following examination will be, to ascertain the modes and the degree of mutual lexical interference taking place in the corpus and in parallel Neo-Assyrian texts, with an eye to the further problem of the directions involved in the phenomenon.

In this light, the list given on pp. 92-94, above, may be taken up, group by group. In group (a), the words *'grt* and *dnt* are exact correspondences to Ass. *egirtu* and *dannutu*, as technical terms for the description of specific categories of legal texts. On the other hand *spr* I, II and *ḫtm*, besides differing from the previous terms due to their overall attestation in West Semitic, have no formal resemblance to Neo-Assyrian terms with the same meanings (e.g. ^{LÚ}A.BA, **ṭupšarru*, *unqu*, *kunukku*, etc.), and function only as terms of translation of the latter.

Group (b) has a marked profile of dependence from Neo-Assyrian professional titles. Leaving aside *ḥṣd*, for which only a general resemblance with the etymologically related *eṣidu* can be noted, it is a fact that *ḥzn*, *l'm/lm*, *mšn*, *skl*, *snh*, *rbsrs*, *rbšqn* may be ranged together as full-fledged correspondences in alphabetic script to *ḫazannu*, *limmu*, *masennu*, *šukkallu*, *šaniu*, *rab ša rēši*, *rab šaqê*. Most of these titles are, however, known from previous periods of Akkadian[160]: and one of them, *ša rēši*, is to be found in 8th century Aramaic from Syria[161]. A third case of relationship with the Assyrian lexicon is represented by *br mlk'* and *zy qdm byt*: these two items are calques of *mār šarri* and *ša muḫḫi bīti*, resp. although it may at the same time be noted that their composition is non-technical, i.e. that it is the product of juxtaposition of well-worn items of lexical correspondence.

To group (c) may be assigned a marked "Aramaic" profile: more so by an overall evaluation than through an analysis of the single items. Save for *'m*, which is attested in no. 58 as fully corresponding to Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian *ummu*, "boundary marker, etc." -but which, for all we know, might even be of ultimate West Semitic origin in Akkadian[162]- all other terms are either (1) Aramaic counteparts to Akk. words going back to a Common Semitic etymology (*'dr*, *byt*, *ḥql*, *kpr*, *tḥm*) or (2) Aramaic

160. Cf. the vocabularies of Akkadian s.vv.; also, J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists*, London 1972, passim, for the lexical histories of some of these words.

161. Sefire I B 45, III 5: cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, Rome 1967, 75.

162. Cf. Biblical Hebrew *'em hadderek*, Ezekiel 21:26.

translations of technical terms occurring in Neo-Assyrian legal texts (*'rq* for *ālu* and *mātu*; *krm* for *kirû*). A case unto itself is constituted by *mt*, previously believed to be a late loan from Akkadian to Aramaic: now, its occurrence in two distinct cases -and as a common noun- in the 9th century statue from Tell Fekheriye[163] marks it as a relatively early loan, and thus probably as a term of widespread use in Assyrian-Aramaic contexts in the 7th century.

Group (d) has been unified under the title "legal jargon" because its items comprise either (1) common words (basically verbs) which are used with a specific juridical connotation (*'ḫz*, *yšb*, *lqḥ*, *ntn*, *rby*), or (2) technical-juridical terms of decided Aramaic (or general West Semitic) affiliation (*rhn*, *šql* II), or (3) various products of direct borrowing from Neo-Assyrian juridical speech -most of which, not by chance, were hitherto unrecognized as such and/or are still open for discussion, such as *'št*, *dn dbl*, *ḥbl*, *ṯ'm*, *qrb*, *rsh*. Statistically -for as much as it is worth- it may be noted that subgroups (1) and (3) are the backbone of this conglomeration: a fact that would seem to indicate a strong influence of contemporary Neo-Assyrian legal terminology on the written form of Aramaic for juridical use of the 7th century. In other words, if one admits the fact that group (d) represents the "heart" of the overall lexicon of our epigraphs (insofar as they are mainly of legal content), one cannot avoid noticing that the focal point of Assyrian influence falls exactly here, not only in terms of direct lexical borrowings, but also -and probably more importantly- in terms of the borrowing of conceptual complexes, in

163. Aramaic, lines 3, 5 (Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, Millard, *STF*, 23).

themselves and in their sequential occurrence.

Interestingly enough, group (e) functions quite in the opposite way. It is basically constituted by common terms of the sphere of commerce, such as *ksp*, *mnh*, *šql*; and this is not unexpected. On the other hand, the only term which represents a direct loan from Akkadian (*zwz*, widely attested in later Aramaic) does not seem to originate from Neo-Assyrian, but from second millennium contact between East and West Semitic[164].

The last group, (f), is formed by items of no specific technical or contextual connection: although there may be ground for discussion on the inclusion here, and not in group (d), of *yhb* in text no. 49 and of *šhd* which is an Aramaic legal term like *rhn* and *šql* II. In any case, the words of general vocabulary are consistently of pan-Semitic or West Semitic etymological affiliation, i.e. no borrowings from Akkadian occur here. On the other hand, they may be used as parts of phraseological units which are direct calques from Assyrian.

* * *

To sum up: the division in semantic categories effected on pp. 92-94, above, has allowed an analysis of the overall lexicon of our epigraphs in relation to the contemporary and parallel *Wortschatz* of the cuneiform documents. Two aspects, which have been dealt with in the examination of the single groups, may be here

164. Cf. *CAD* Z, 170b. Kaufman, *Studies...Finkelstein*, 123, believes on the other hand that "the word was current in Neo-Assyrian but merely unattested in syllabic writing".

taken up again in a comprehensive view: the question of etymological affiliation and that of the presence/absence of technical terminology.

From the viewpoint of etymology, the lexicon of our texts presents three different categories: items of common (East/West Semitic) etymology, items of merely West Semitic etymology[165], items of Assyrian (or general Akkadian) origin. A chart of the occurrences is given on the following page.

As may be seen, the highest total is attained by the category of words of common etymology. This datum is of interest, aside from the problems posed by possible differences in the phonetic perception of such lexical realities in comparison with the corresponding Assyrian ones[166], since it points to a wide "central" area of lexical integration of the two coexisting linguistic elements involved in our corpus. In other words, this datum indicates a prevalent process of lexical correspondence between Assyrian legal language and its counterpart in Aramaic through the use of similar-sounding (or perhaps even phonetically amalgamated) words. It is difficult to proceed further than this result, meager as it may seem: matters such as lexical choice are virtually unfathomable from the quantity of data in the corpus (the only case

165. Or items of common etymology, but of decidedly variant meaning in East and West Semitic, i.e. for which the particular West Semitic meaning is attested here.

166. Cases relevant to this problem were briefly discussed above, on pp. 65-66. But much more material could be obviously brought forth and evaluated, especially drawing upon the cuneiform sources (onomastics, toponomastics, common nouns).

Group	Common	total	West Semitic	total	Akkadian	total
(a)	/		*spr* I		*'grt*	
			spr II		*dnt*	
		0	*ḥtm*	3		2
(b)	*ḥṣd*		*mlk*		*ḫzn*	
					l'm	
					mǎn	
					skl	
					snh	
					rbsrs	
		1		1	*rbšqn*	7
(c)	*'dr*		*'rq*="land,		*mt*	
	'm (?)		town"			
	byt		*krm*			
	ḥql					
	kpr					
	tḥm	6		2		1
(d)	*'ḥz*		*yšb*		*'št*	
	lqḥ		*rhn*		*dn (db[b)*	
	ntn		*šql* II		*ḥbl*	
	qrb				*ṭ^{c}m*	
	rby	5		3	*rsh*	5
(e)	*ksp*		/		*zwz*	
	mmḥ					
	šql I	3		0		1
(f)	*'ḥ*		*br*		/	
	'm		*brt*			
	'mt		*ḥyy*			
	'nš		*yhb*			
	ywm		*šhd*			
	yd=idu		*šwm*			
	yrḥ		*š^{c}rn*			
	lbb					
	qn'	9		7		0
Totals and		24		16		16
Percentages[167]		42,1%		28,1%		28,1%

167. The sum of percentages (98,3 %) reflects the fact that some words such as *br*, *byt*, are attested in more than one item in the lists on pp. 92-94, above.

of synonymy is an inter-Aramaic one: *ntn* and *yhb*, both meaning "to give", "to give back").

As regards technical terminology, we may notice its presence both in the West Semitic column (the terms for writing *spr* I, II and *ḥtm*; some legal items, *rhn*, *šql*, *šhd*) and in virtually all the cases of Akkadian loanwords (i.e. with the exception of *mt* and *zwz*). This picture of statistical unbalance, yet of some sort of give-and-take in the sphere of *termini technici*, may be more widely visualized through the "lens" of the entire documentation of the 1st millennium B.C., in itself and in its reflexes in post-Christian times[168].

On one hand, this wider framework confirms the presence of a large number of specifically technical loanwords from Akkadian to Aramaic. On the other hand, however, it also confirms a smaller "vein" of lexical specialization on the part of the Aramaic sector, which may even set itself in some sort of competition with the Akkadian terminology (as in groups (a), (d), above). In the overall horizon of the 1st millennium B.C., including the later reflexes, this unbalanced give-and-take proves to give rise to the following phenomena: (1) a good-sized number of words traded between the two linguistic sectors, up to the decline of Akkadian as a spoken and written language; (2) the partial fusion of the two technical and conceptual *instrumentarii* to form third, and per se individual, products, such as e.g. the legal language of the texts from Elephantine of the 5th century; (3) the transmission of a linguistic and cultural heritage of ultimate Akkadian origin

168. I refer here to my discussion in *VO* 3 (1980), 243-267.

through the linguistic medium of Aramaic in the 1st millennium A.D., after the decline of Akkadian[169].

2.4. Conclusions.

In the eight sections of the previous chapter (2.3. a-h), I have attempted to analyze all aspects of the language of the 61 alphabetic epigraphs of the present corpus: this was done on the basis of a preliminary assumption (2.2), namely that a description of the language of these texts was rather to be sought in the sphere of an "Assyrian/Aramaic symbiosis" than merely in the light of a dialectal bracket of ancient Aramaic, the "Mesopotamian Aramaic" of previous authors. The results, in my opinion, go a certain way in bearing out the functionality of that assumption. Resuming briefly, we have:

- in the sector of grapho-phonemics (for which the parallel renderings of names, etc., in contemporary cuneiform texts have been extensively utilized), both phenomena of ultimate Assyrian derivation (such as the *k>g* shift) and phenomena of Aramaic origin or prevalent attestation (e.g. the fluctuating notation of final *y/w* in personal names) may be observed. In various cases, moreover (e.g. the shift *p>b*; the aphaeresis of initial aleph) the grapho-phonemics of Assyrian and Aramaic lexical realities within the corpus correspond fully. Elsewhere, specific developments of the individual languages are faithfully reflected: i.e. in cases such as the Assyrian shift of sibilants, the Aramaic reduction of final *-at* to *-ah*, the rigid (and thus "selective") approach to the realization of interdentals, we may gain the general impression of a largely conscious process of bringing two different systems side by side in the same text. However, a certain "space" for exceptions and admixture (e.g. in the *qšt/Qaštu*-type examples; in the cases of *ʿrdnbw* and *rbšqn*; in the -however explainable- process of encoding the divine name **Ištar*) is equally to be observed.

- in the sector of morphology, the data undoubtedly allow a classification along the basic lines of Aramaic grammar: elements such as the correct use of noun states of gender and number markers, and of verbal tenses and conjugations are sufficient evidence in this direction, despite the restricted formulary of the epigraphs. On the other hand, a series of phenomena may decidedly be taken as indicators of grammatical integration with regards to Assyrian in the specific chronological and geographical context of our texts: e.g. the use of *zy* in genitival clauses, the use of the *lqtVl* imperfect in discourse and onomastics, the particular use of some prepositions (although this may be a matter of lexical, rather than of grammatical, interest). Further, the use of the genitival marker *š* represents a direct grammatical borrowing from Akkadian of the later phases. Thus, even in this most "Aramaic" sector of the linguistic analysis, a "symbiotic" datum may be singled out: i.e. similarly to all other sectors (although with different proportions) a give-and-take with the parallel Assyrian linguistic context is detectable, and stands out as the unique feature of this bracket of the language, which otherwise appears to owe much to a basic form of Old Aramaic. Conversely, facts which originate in

169. Cf. ibid., and esp. charts IV, V for the lexical statistics and some case-studies.

this context, but then occur much more massively in Imperial Aramaic should, in my opinion, be evaluated as formerly "symbiotic" facts which have undergone a progressive assimilation and diffusion, totally apart from the contact with Akkadian.

- syntax (2.3.f) presents decidedly symbiotic characteristics, especially as regards word order: Aramaic and Assyrian-type clauses seem to be in relatively free alternation. This datum may then be set against the well-known affirmation, although one never hitherto checked in depth, that Neo-Assyrian prose (e.g. in epistolography) shows a strong Aramaic syntactic influence[170].

- lexicon is, as always, the pièce de resistance for an evaluation of linguistic interference. In 2.3.h, above, I have noted: (1) the degrees of Akkadian influence (or, conversely, of Aramaic autonomy) in the different semantic categories of the lexicon; (2) the fact that words of common etymology are widespread, thus creating a large central area of reciprocal lexical communication; (3) the fact that, alongside the major group of technical terms proceeding from Akkadian, a small series of words also indicates an "Aramaic" specificity in techniques.

* * *

In sum, through the analysis of the "symbiotic" aspects in the language of our texts, the final impression to be gained of the language itself is that of a mixed variety presenting multiple relational levels between Assyrian and Aramaic in the specific

170. Cf. *GAG*, § 130c; further examples of SVO constructions from Neo-Assyrian epistolography are given by S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 313 ad r. 2, although this construction is considered here "extremely rare".

"situation" of written communication[171]. On one level, we may set into evidence a largely Aramaic morphological basis and a partial respect of phonological differences with Assyrian; but a second level shows partial lexical and phonological correlation or outright admixture between the two varieties, a certain anarchy in syntax, and a large degree of absorption of Assyrian words of technical meaning. As pointed out in 1.3, 1.4, above, it is this mixed and multiple-relational instrument through which a written production of juridical and other content in alphabetic script appears to have enjoyed social acceptation and a certain diffusion within the borders of the Assyrian empire in the 7th century B.C., as transmitter of technical and ideological realities in some competition with the official language of the state. In turn, this mixed variety was surely a function of a cultural "symbiosis" on many levels of society during the last century of existence of the Assyrian empire: an undoubtedly wide and complex form of integration and interference which we may hope to detect, in future studies, through the interplay of a variety of sources, in different scripts, of contemporary or even of later date.

171. Cf. the article by A.V. Rossi quoted in fn. 79, above.

3. Paleographical and chronological problems

3.1. "Argillary" or mixed script?

The questions touched upon in the two previous chapters had little or no relation to punctual problems of chronology concerning the materials in the present corpus: both the typological and the linguistic evaluation were conducted with reference to a general 7th century setting for the corpus, with scarce need for further detail on this line. Paleography is, on the other hand, a recognized medium for chronological pinpointing; further, the script of the Aramaic epigraphs on clay tablets from Assyria has received recent contributions as an important aspect of research on such texts in itself. For both these reasons, it seems fitting to devote the conclusive chapter of this introduction to a brief survey of the question -the brevity not being related to the importance of the subject, but only to this writer's decided lack of competence in its intricacies.

The basic studies on the paleography of our corpus are two, and both quite recent. In order of publication, the first is the short contribution by S.J. Lieberman, entitled *The Aramaic Argillary Script in the Seventh Century*[172]. Lieberman's analysis basically covers the entirety of the Nineveh corpus available to him at the time (=our nos. 1-36); a comparison of these data with others on clay (e.g. our nos. 46-51) and on different writing materials (ostraca, papyri) ranging from 700 to 371 B.C. is also

172. *BASOR* 192 (1968), 25-31.

effected through a paleographic chart, of indubitable clarity and usefulness (p. 26, Fig. 1).

The scope of Lieberman's study is thus illustrated: "Our thesis is really quite simple. We think that the Aramaic script which was used in the clay tablets from Quyunjik in the seventh century constitutes a stage in the development of Aramaic script which is separate from the developments of the lapidary and cursive scripts. We thus think it necessary to separate an "argillary" script from the "formal" and to note that, while it has many features in common with both the script used on stone and that written with pen and ink, it remains distinct. Developments in the Aramaic script of the seventh century cannot be labelled merely "cursive" and "formal"; the use of the stylus on wet clay is a separate and independent phenomenon"[173].

This "separate and independent phenomenon" is then analyzed through the comparison of the single letter-forms in the various textual groups under examination, with the following result: "... the argillary script has its closest affinities with the eighth-century cursive... (It) was a generally conservative chancellery hand which broke off from the cursive development in the second half of the eighth century and went its own way in the seventh century, only occasionally influenced by the subsequent cursive"[174]. Such a "profile" is documented, in particular, by the frequent occurrence of 8th century cursive characteristics: the frequent standard forms of aleph, the open heads of bet, dalet, resh, the one-diagonal stroke of ḥet, the persistence of a z-type

173. Ibid., 27-28.
174. Ibid., 29.

zayin, the kaf with an upper bar issuing from the lower one, the zigzag mem, the circle for ᶜayin, etc.; while, on the other hand, the sporadic occurrence in "argillary" script of seventh-century cursive forms is also noteworthy -despite a few cases of straightforward antecedence of the stylus script on contemporary cursive (two-stroked aleph, characteristics of the mem away from the zigzag, and the v-shaped šin).

Conclusively, Lieberman's contribution - intended as a preliminary to a larger work on the Aramaic "argillary" texts, which was never published - presents a series of graphs and charts relevant to the dating of the Kuyunjik Aramaic collection. Three different criteria would seem to have been followed here: (1) the presence of dates by *limmus*, or year-eponyms, in the cuneiform texts; (2) questions of prosopography; (3) merely paleographical elements[175]. These criteria, and the overall dating sequence - the first of its kind for the Assyrian-Aramaic material - given by Lieberman, will be evaluated in 3.3, below.

175. Unfortunately, the charts are quite reduced in size and not provided with reference numbers to the treated documents, and thus are virtually unintellegible. Therefore, since the wider work for which they were obviously intended is lacking, a recheck on the use of the above-mentioned three criteria for dating is only possible against the list of texts in chronological order given at the beginning of the article itself -or, more functionally in the end, through a complete recheck of the documents themselves in their Assyrian and Aramaic versions, as is done in 3.3, below.

* * *

The second major contribution to the study of the paleography of our corpus is represented by J. Naveh's *The Development of the Aramaic Script* (1970)[176]. Naveh presents a wider range of materials, since his study is concerned with all the Aramaic texts from the 10th to the 3rd centuries B.C.: further, even the subsection on "Clay Tablets" of the chapter on "the Aramaic script in the Seventh and Sixth centuries B.C.E." comprises different texts from Lieberman's -only the *CIS* tablets from Nineveh, but also some documents of Neo- and Late-Babylonian date bearing Aramaic.

Naveh's evaluation of the materials is at the same time more clear-cut and more schematical than Lieberman's: "The clay tablets appear to be of some paleographical importance, not only because of the paucity of other material in this period, but also because most of them are dated precisely. Even so, it is difficult to rely on them in most instances: cursive and lapidary styles occur on a single tablet, and only seldom the scribe adhered to one of the two styles. The Neirab tablets are written in lapidary; the Starcky tablet represents the cursive of 570 B.C.E.; while the others of this group, including the Arslan Tash incantation tablet, mix lapidary and cursive"[177]. In Naveh's analysis also, each single letter is subjected to study, in relation to its evolution: obviously, however, this author's interest lies more in the continuity within the selected chronological bracket (7th - 6th

176. *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, V/1, Jerusalem 1970.

177. Ibid., 17.

centuries B.C.) than in the specific relation of the letter-forms on clay with writing on other materials or from previous periods.

3.2. The letter-forms of the present corpus

"Argillary" script or mixed script? As posed separately by the two authors quoted above, the problem of defining the characteristics of the Aramaic alphabetic writing on Neo-Assyrian clay tablets involves an extensive examination of a wide spectrum of parallel materials -and an overall competence in matters of West Semitic paleography, which I do not presume to have. As far as this problem is concerned, then, I shall leave the answer open to future studies: with the mere addition of my own paleographic chart (plates XIII-XIV) to the material at the disposal of the specialists.

It may, on the other hand, be noted that -since the time of Naveh's and Lieberman's analyses- a small series of further Aramaic documents on clay has been published, namely nos. 37-38, 43-45, 52, 58-61 of the present volume, plus nos. 40-42 which are particular to this book. Further, as stated in the foreword, the five tablets from Guzana/Tell Halaf (=nos. 53-57) have recently received a partial photographic documentation -thus answering an unhoped-for *desideratum* expressed by both Lieberman and Naveh[178]. Thus, on the basis of three separate factors, i.e. (1) my personal re-examination of all Nineveh materials, (2) the extension of the

178. Lieberman, cit., 28; Naveh, cit., 17.

corpus in many directions, and (3) the publication of visual documentation for Tell Halaf, it follows that a general description of the letter-forms of virtually the entire body of Aramaic epigraphs on Neo-Assyrian clay tablets known to the present is a feasible undertaking -as against the partial opportunities offered to all previous specialists in the field. I shall therefore proceed to give such a factual description, with the aid of the previously published analyses.

Aleph. In the basic form, both bars of the horizontal cut across the vertical, meeting at a "V" to the left of it (cf. e.g. nos. 3, 5, 8, 9, 13-15, 23, 26, 30, 37, 40, 45, 49-51, etc.), Variant forms are constituted by (1) the "V" joining the downstroke, but not bypassing it to its left (nos. 11, 17, 43, 60, 61), and (2) only the lower stroke of the "V" breaking through to the left (33, 45, 55), (3) only the upper stroke of the "V" breaking through to left (46-48, type II), (4) the modification of the "V" to a more rounded form, with a single bar projecting from it to the left of the vertical (46-48, Type I, 53).

Bet, Dalet, Reš, ᶜAyin. All open, as stated by both Lieberman and Naveh, although no. 21 is, in my opinion, "the exception confirming the rule" (v.), and a few more cases of dalet (nos. 7, 16, 28) come very close to a full join of the strokes[179]. B, D, and R are all drawn with a single stroke, and quite hard to tell apart, although

179. Cf. also Lieberman for nos. 14 and 19 (his no. 18).

B has often a slight loop at the end. While Lieberman[180] analyzes the ᶜayin as a circle in the argillary script, I would agree with Naveh on the parallel existence of an ᶜayin tending to follow the B,D,R group, and thus presenting a small "tick" at the bottom[181] (cf. nos. 5, 13, 52): the basic form is, of course, a circle, at times almost closed (nos. 21, 24).

Gimel presents few problems: the two oblique strokes are drawn from the top, as stated by Naveh[182]. They may in some cases not join exactly (nos. 35, 53, 55).

He. The analysis of this letter seems to me more complex than as treated by previous authors. True, with Naveh[183], the basic form is a derivation from the comb-type lapidary he, in that "the two lower bars are replaced by a small oblique stroke, usually slightly curved toward the left, descending from the upper stroke". However I would notice that (1) in no. 43, a vaguely comb-type layout persists, (2) in no. 11, we would seem to have an imperfect join of the right-hand horizontal with the upper stroke (cf. also no. 58, type I); (3) in nos. 3 (type I), 5, 13 (type I), a merely two-stroke form is apparent, whereby the upper stroke and the oblique are drawn in one; (4) in nos. 38 and (perhaps) 17, the oblique is reduced to a mere "tick".

180. Cit., 29.
181. Naveh, cit., 19.
182. Ibid.
183. Ibid.

Waw. The "upside-down h" type[184] seems to be straightening out in some exemplars (e.g. nos. 16, 53). Elsewhere it takes the shape of an elongated "V" (e.g. no. 13).

Zayin. No doubt, with Lieberman[185], that the Z-type form of this letter persists in the corpus, only rarely tending to lose its extremities (e.g. nos. 17, type I, 46-48). Since a similar development in this chronological stage is shown by *Yod* (cf. e.g., nos. 15 and 18 for coexistence of a crossed-z-type and a straighter one with left hand tick within a single text), the corpus presents a few cases of past confusion (cf. e.g. no. 9 line 2) or still doubtful choice (e.g. no. 9, line 3). At times the yod is drawn as a virtual semicircle, with a shorter stroke added to the right (see nos. 12, 24, 44, etc.). Together with he and qof, the yod seems to be the letter presenting the greatest complexities (i.e. in the fullest phase of evolution) within the corpus.

Ḥet. This letter has three basic shapes in the corpus: (1) an actual H-type form; (2) the form of an H, with the horizontal substituted by a diagonal, reaching midway or even to the bottom of the left-hand vertical (cf. e.g. the inverted-N-type of no. 21); (3) as noted by Lieberman[186], the form of two verticals, with a shorter vertical between them (cf. e.g. nos. 10, 58).

184. Naveh, ibid.
185. Cit., 28.
186. Cit., 28^{6}.

Ṭet is rarely attested: Naveh's description ("The letter is open; the bar protrudes from the right top of the circle and descends obliquely to the left") applies well to no. 58, while possibly preceding stages may be those of nos. 2, 3[187].

Kaf is treated by Naveh as representing a basic continuation of the previous form, in which the lower branch stems from the upper one, although the reverse can also be true, and there is a development towards a "curved single stroke head"[188]. On the other hand, Lieberman believes that "the K of the argillary script goes back to the lapidary script of the type of Arslan Tash ... This letter makes it clear beyond doubt that the argillary script is not simply a mixture of cursive and lapidary features imitated on clay, but rather a separate script tradition with roots in the past and continuing use in the following periods"[189]. Apart from the problem of the modes of evolution, there is -at all events- no doubt about the kaf in our corpus as presenting essentially conservative characters (differently from zayin and he): an actual "curved single stroke head" is, to my mind, absent from the texts under consideration (cf. no. 55, which is however based on the Meyer drawing, comparing it with no. 56, from photograph, a much less clear-cut case), and basically we have to deal with variants on the 3-stroke letter shape (notice that some exemplars, such as nos. 16, 24, 28, are shallowly inscribed).

187. Cf. Naveh, cit., 20; Lieberman, cit., 28.

188. Naveh, cit., 20.

189. Lieberman, cit., 28.

Lamed. No problems with this graph, presenting only a series of variants in the degree of the curve. In one or two cases (nos. 9, type II, no. 58), a slight "tail" to the left is added.

Mem. Counter to Naveh's opinion, the zigzag form of this letter is still dominant in the present corpus, as implied by Lieberman. Developments teward the single curved stroke cut by an oblique bar are visible in nos. 42, 46–48, 54, 56 -but e.g. not in no. 58, for which see below. Lieberman points out the "tick" to the left in no. 23, type II[190], but I do not think it to be a determining factor at this stage.

Nun. Like lamed, this graph shows a series of internal variants, with regard to the angle between the curved head and the vertical stroke: notice, again, the conservative "hand" of no. 58, where the angle is pronounced, against e.g. no. 52.

Samekh. Agreeing with Lieberman, the clay tablets display mainly the oblique zigzag type found in Neirab lapidary, which however further tends to straighten out in some exemplars (e.g. nos. 13, 21, 28), or to soften its angles into a sort of slanted-s-shape (nos. 3, 58). The actual "double step"-type shape described by Naveh appears only in nos. 33, 49-51, 55. Notice finally the quasi-mem-type in nos. 9, 19. All in all, then, the links with later cursive are scarce for this letter.

190. His no. 22.

Pe. It is scarcely attested, and presents no basic particularities in comparison with monumental script.

Ṣade: the case is similar to that of the preceding letter.

Qof: a complex graph, presenting many different shapes: (1) the older form[191], with a circle through which the vertical passes (two strokes: nos. 52, 60); (2) a one-stroke variant, in which a semicircle or an almost closed circle is looped downwards to form the vertical (nos. 12, 13); (3) a further 2-stroke form, with a "reclining s"[192] perched on top of the vertical: the cursive form (nos. 17, 52); (4) a 3-stroke shape, with either two semicircular strokes enclosing the vertical to form a "trident" (nos. 11, 16, 32), or coming together at the top of the vertical (nos. 10, 14, 49-51). A variant thereof is (5) formed only by two strokes, with a sort of reš-type element on the left "closed" by a semicircle on the right (cf. nos. 46-48, 56, 58, and -particularly clear- no. 33, where the semicircle is quite detached to the right). Lieberman terms the argillary qof "unstable"[193].

Šin. The situation of the šin is rather like that of mem: the classical form, with a large zigzag, is predominant, although there are some examples of the more recent, v-type shape with three converging strokes (nos. 12, 25, 26, 29, 30 type II).

191. For which cf. Naveh, cit., 9-10.

192. Naveh, cit., 20.

193. Lieberman, cit., 29 and fn. 8.

Taw. Here, there would seem to be a relatively free alternance between forms, in which the shorter second stroke crosses the longer diagonal, and others, in which it begins at a juncture with the downstroke. I notice no examples of a curved second stroke, such as is attested on the Starcky tablet from Syria of 571 B.C., and which forms the basis of Naveh's description for the entire period[194].

* * *

In a nutshell, I believe it may be safely stated that an appraisal of the entire corpus of Aramaic clay tablets from the Neo-Assyrian period proceeding from the most recent copies and reproductions of this material, leads to an overall view which presents many problematical aspects -more, it would seem, than as singled out in previous analyses. Without -as said- entering into the matter of a "final" definition of this type of script, it may be observed from the preceding notes that the corpus under study shows two categories of graphemic realizations: (1) a group of letters which are *not* in the process of internal modification within the various temporal and geographical brackets to be assumed for the corpus; (2) a group of letters which *are* in the process of internal modification. In other words, I would speak of "stable" and "unstable" letters within the time/space limits represented by the collection published in this volume.

The "stable" letters are -in general- bet, gimel, dalet,

194. Naveh, cit., 29 and fn. 8.

lamed, nun, ᶜayin, pe, ṣade, reš, taw. The "unstable" ones are aleph, he, waw, zayin, ḥet, ṭet(?), yod, kaf, mem, samekh, qof, šin. The stable letters have forms that in the main continue the 9th - 8th century lapidary tradition, and the initial phase of the cursive[195].

The unstable ones usually have, at the same time (sometimes even in the same text), affiliations, with (a) the earlier lapidary; (b) the cursive of the 8th century; (c) the later cursive (less frequently), and at times show (d) shapes not attested elsewhere (see e.g. the semicircular aleph, the two-stroke he, the three-vertical ḥet, the straight, wavy samekh, the qof of type 5, above). The balance of stable vs. unstable graphs is 10: 12, i.e. 60% of the letter-shapes shows inner modification, while 40% is "classical".

The conclusions to be drawn for the development of the Aramaic script from the picture provided above are left to others, more competent than the present writer. However, for the next (and final) point of this introduction, that of the means and results in ascertaining the chronology of the corpus, it may be useful to provide at least one example of a synchronical outlook at paleography. My choice falls on the well-preserved no. 58, dated to the *limmu* of Aššur-garū'a-nēri, i.e. possibly 635 B.C. (see the relevant commentary). This text, as may be seen from Pl. XIV, presents the following "profile" as concerns its letter-shapes:

195. Described by Naveh, cit., 7-14.

"Stable" letters (bet, gimel, dalet, lamed, nun, ᶜayin, pe, ṣade, reš, taw): all "classical", except for the minor traits of (1) a "tick" on the lamed; (2) a very curving nun; (3) a slightly curving short stroke in the taw. In theory, (1) and (3) might be taken as innovative aspects, (2) as an archaizing characteristic.

"Unstable" letters: here (1) aleph has a relatively "classical" shape; (2) he has two 3-stroke variants, in line with the innovative characteristics of this letter; (3) waw has a straightened-out shape; (4) zayin has the older, z-type aspect; (5) ḥet has two variants, one with diagonal (in line with contemporary cursive), and one with the third vertical stroke, particular to clay tablets; (6) ṭet is of the regular contemporary cursive aspect; (7) yod is in the process of straightening out into an s-type graph with left-hand secondary stroke; (8) kaf is in line with 7th-century cursive (traditional shape); (9) mem is totally classical, in its zigzag aspect; (10) samekh is in the innovative slanted-s-type shape; (11) qof is attested in the specific 'argillary' aspect of its variant no. 5; (12) šin, like mem, is entirely traditional. A mixed picture, to say the least.

3.3. The chronology of the tablets

Exactly because of its relatively contradictory aspects, the result obtained on the paleography of text. no. 58 may be used to open discussion on the problems of chronological pinpointing for the corpus. I should ask the following question: had this tablet *not* borne the name of the eponym under which the court case was

discussed, how close to the date of 635 B.C. would one have been able to place it by paleographical means? Would one have relied rather on the innovative or on the conservative appearance of the "unstable" letters (if one assumed these to be more representative than the "stable" graphemes)? And would the resulting choice - whichever - have brought forth a dating hypothesis of some acceptability in itself?

The above remarks are certainly not intended to imply an *a priori* rejection of the paleographical criterion for the dating of the texts under examination: they only mean to cast some doubts on the possibility of using the paleographical instrument to establish a positive chronological framework in the sphere of the different decades of the 7th century B.C. -at least for the present. As will be specified below, Nineveh gives us the earliest tablet dated by eponyms in our corpus, which goes back to 687 B.C.; while the latest one comes from an unspecified site, and might be referred to 613, and a few others also seem late into the 620-610 decade. Reframing my question, then, I would ask: do the paleographical criteria established at present provide a valid method in itself, for breaking up our 61 texts into the time span of approx. 75 years, apart from the existence of other dating methods?

My answer is perforce negative, on the basis of the brief description of the individual graphemes provided in 3.2, above, and in view of the synchronical test effected on tablet no. 58. And it may be pointed out that the general assessments of the script given by both Naveh and Lieberman ("both cursive and lapidary styles occur"; "separate script tradition with roots in the past and

continuing use in the following periods", resp.)[196] go somewhat in the same direction. I am of course well prepared to be disproved, in what would constitute a welcome continuation of debate on this topic; but the point is hardly academic, in the context of the present introduction, since cognizance must be here taken of the only previous overall dating sequence proposed by S.J. Lieberman for 34 of the Kuyunjik / Nineveh Assyrian-Aramaic tablets (=our nos. 1-34) -a sequence which is established also with reference to the paleographical criterion. Lieberman's sequence is as follows[197]:

Lieb. no.	Lieb. date	Lieb.: basis of dating(inferred)	This book: no.	date	basis of dating
1	687	*limmu*	1	687	*limmu*
2	684	*limmu*	2	684	*limmu*
3	682	*limmu*	3	682	*limmu*
4	681	*limmu*	4	681	*limmu*
5	680	*limmu*	5	680	*limmu*
6	ca.682-674	other	6	ca.680	prosopography
7	ca.682-674	other	7	ca.680	prosopography
8	681-670	other	8	a.672	prosopography
9	674	*limmu*	9	674	*limmu*
10	ca.670	other	10	cf. Lieberman	

196. Naveh, cit., 17; Lieberman, cit., 28.

197. Reproduced -with the addition of the "basis for dating" column, which is of my own fabrication- from Lieberman, cit., 27. Notice the abbreviations used here: ca. = *circa* (said of time); a. = *ante*; p. = *post*. The notation "Falkner" refers to the dating sequence for post-648 B.C. eponyms established, on the basis of contextual clues (i.e. in the lack of a written eponymic "canon"), by M. Falkner, *AfO* 17 (1954-56), 100-120.

Lieb. no.	Lieb. date	Lieb.: basis of dating(inferred)	This book: no.	date	basis of dating
11	ca.670	other	11	cf. Lieberman	
12	ca.670	other	12	cf. Lieberman	
13	ca.670	other	13	cf. Lieberman	
14	671/666	*limmu*	14	671/666	*limmu*
15	665	*limmu*	15	665	*limmu*
16	659	*limmu*	17	659	*limmu*
17	653	*limmu*	18	653	*limmu*
18	652	*limmu*	19	652	*limmu*
19	ca.650	other	20	cf. Lieberman	
20	646	*limmu* (Falkner)	21	p.648 (cf. Falkner)	
21	ca.646	other	22	ca.no.21	prosopography
22	ca.646	other	23	cf. Lieberman	
23	642	*limmu* (Falkner)	24	p.648 (cf. Falkner)	
24	ca.642	other	25	ca.no.24	prosopography
25	ca.640	other	26	cf. Lieberman	
26	639	*limmu* (Falkner)	27	p.648 (cf. Falkner)	
27	630	*limmu* (Falkner)	28	p.648 (cf. Falkner)	
28	ca.630	other	29	cf. Lieberman	
29	626	*limmu* (Falkner)	30	p.648 (cf. Falkner)	
30	ca.623	other	16	668–660	prosopography
31	622	*limmu* (Falkner)	31	p.648 (cf. Falkner)	
32	622	*limmu* (Falkner)	32	p.648 (cf. Falkner)	
33	621	*limmu* (Falkner)	33	p.648 (cf. Falkner)	
34	ca.621	other	34	ca.no.33	prosopography

The fact that the chronological methods employed by Lieberman and marked above as "other" comprised both prosopography and paleography has been already pointed out above (cf. 3.1.)[198]. Turning briefly now to the dating methods employed in this book (right-hand column above), it should be noticed that both *limmu*-dates and prosopographical material are founded on the comparison

198. It is also particularly clear from this author's Graph III, where both criteria are indicated in scheme form -although no statistical reconstruction from such a chart is actually possible.

between the texts under examination (whether unilingual Aramaic or bilingual) and the contemporary evidence in cuneiform: thus the indication "cf. Lieberman" essentially refers to the lack of data for chronological pinpointing within the Neo-Assyrian textual corpus. It is quite probable, then, that such cases coincide with the ones dated by Lieberman through paleography. The statistical breakup of these 34 documents (in my own dating systems) is as follows:

limmu	19	56%
prosopography	7	20%
no data	8	24%

How the "no data"/"cf. Lieberman" category is to be evaluated from the purely paleographical viewpoint, I -again- leave to others. On the other hand, no clue to the best place of insertion for these documents may be gained -in my opinion- from overall distributional statistics at present, since, as is well known, the exact sequence of post-648 B.C. eponyms of Assyria is still open for discussion, despite M. Falkner's excellent attempt[199]. And, finally, revisions of the Assyrian-Aramaic material in itself seem to hold continuous surprises: such is the case of my no. 16 which, while classified by Lieberman as dated to ca. 623 (=his no. 30),

199. Cf. fn. 197, above. A further reconstruction of the sequence of Assyrian eponyms has been announced as forthcoming by A.R. Millard (oral communication).

proves in fact after collation by S. Parpola[200] to refer to a well-known official and landholder of the 670s-660s[201].

Thus, in sum, the overall chronological attribution of the Nineveh group of texts within the present corpus is still characterized by aspects of fluidity. It seems safe to say that, since the use of Aramaic is documented with regularity in the last Assyrian capital for the period 687-648 B.C., a similar regularity must be surmised for the sampler dating from the last thirty-odd years of the empire of the Sargonids -at least as concerns legal material (cf. 1.1-3)[202].

* * *

Vague as it is, this result finds confirmation in the documents of our collection proceeding from other, or unspecified, sites. The texts which may be dated with some precision are the following: no. 49 = 659 B.C., through *limmu* and, in general, prosopography[203]; nos. 53-57, i.e. the entire group of Tell Halaf/Guzana, through prosopographical correlation with the

200. *Assur* 2, 1981, 170.

201. See the commentary to no. 16 in Part Two, below.

202. Of the remaining texts from the Kuyunjik collection within the present corpus, two (nos. 37, 42) may be tentatively dated by prosopographical means, while only one (no. 39) has a *limmu*-date which, following M. Falkner's sequence, gives us the latest chronological attribution of the collection, 613 B.C. (cf. M. Falkner, *AfO* 17 [1954-56], 106 for this text).

203. Cf. the commentary for the references to Sîn-na'id, *ḫazannu* of Assur and Ekallāte.

parallel cuneiform texts TH nos. 101-106[204], in the post-canonical period and specifically between 614 and 612 following Falkner's dating; no. 58 = 635 B.C. (*limmu*; date according to the Falkner system); no. 60 = 617 B.C. (idem); no. 61 = 622 B.C. (idem). Finally, one of the unpublished Brussels tablets (Part Two: F, e) is dated by *limmu* to 620 B.C.; while an unpublished Assyrian tablet from Brussels should provide prosopographical pinpointing for our no. 59 at approx. 658 B.C.[205]. No sure date can, on the other hand, be assigned to the remainder of the Assur texts (=nos. 46-48, 50-52)[206] and the Nimrud material (=nos. 43-45).

204. Such a correlation is indisputable, not only due to the presence of the same individual in the documents of both writing systems, the already mentioned *'lmny* = *Il-ma-na-ni*, but also because the 5 Aramaic texts and the 6 Assyrian ones were found together in a jar (cf. footnote 30, above).

205. The text is *O*.3693, as stated by P. Garelli, in the congress paper quoted in Part Two, fn. 17.

206. The presence of no. 49, dated 659 B.C., might lead to the conclusion that all the Assur Aramaic texts were written around the middle of the 7th century (thus, e.g., Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 83). However, the dated text has no prosopographical relationship with the others of the group -which instead may be internally correlated; and further, the (as yet unpublished) corpus of legal and administrative cuneiform texts from Assur would seem to present a statistical predominance of post-648 B.C. documentation. For the moment, it may be noted that one *Ia-di-i'-il*, i.e. an individual bearing the same name as *yd'l* of no. 50: R.3, is attested in *CT* 33, 17: A, 5, 7 (envelope); B, 6, 11, 18 (text), a document of 632 B.C. according to M. Falkner (cf. *APN*, 316 b).

Conclusively, and for as much as it is worth in the present state of knowledge on the sequence of the later Assyrian eponym dates, the following general chronological scheme for the corpus may be provided (N.B.: L = *limmu*-dates; P = datings based on prosopography; X = no L, P date available; F = dating of post-648 B.C. eponyms according to M. Falkner):

text no.	L	P	X
1	687		
2	684		
3	682		
4	681		
5	680		
6		ca.680	
7		ca.680	
8		ca.672	
9	674		
10-13			680-670?
14	671/666		
15	665		
37		ca.665?	
42		ca.665?	
16		668-660	
17	659		
49	659		
59		ca.658	
18	658		
19	652		
20			ca.650?
46-48, 50-52 (Assur)			ca.650? (or post-648?

text no.	L	P	X
21	F646		
22		ca.F646	
24	F642		
25		ca.F646	
27	F639		
58	F635		
28	F630		
30	F626		
61	F622		
31	F622		
32	F622		
33	F621		
34		ca.F621	
F:e	F620		
60	F617		
53-57		ca.F614-F612	
39	F613		
43-45 (Kalhu)			post-648?
23,26,29, 35,36,38, 40,41 (Nineveh)			post-648?

PART TWO

TEXTS

Preliminary remarks

As stated in the foreword, the following pages are concerned with the presentation of the corpus of Aramaic epigraphs on clay tablets from the Neo-Assyrian period. On the general organization of this textual edition, a few remarks are called for. Within the single sections that follow (A - F), the texts are arranged in chronological order, as far as possible. After the progressive number assigned to each document, and the relevant museum or collection number, the basic concordance of textual editions as regards both the cuneiform and alphabetic parts is provided (resp., upper and lower lines). Transliterations and translations of the Assyrian texts are given only insofar as they are considered functional for the understanding of the attached Aramaic epigraph; in all other cases, the basic contents of the cuneiform parts are described in summarized form.

The commentaries appended to the transliterations and translations are basically reserved for the discussion on the

philological and contextual aspects of the Aramaic texts. For definitions and problems of a general nature concerning the material under study, references are usually given to the relevant sections of Part One, above.

In the transliterations of cuneiform texts, the normal criteria of Assyriological literature for integrations, restorations, emendations, etc., have been employed. Thus complete square brackets ( ] or [ ) single out fully broken parts, while half square brackets (⌜ ⌝ or ⌞ ⌟) mark partially legible signs; [x] indicates lost graphemes, x illegible - though extant - signs; the complex [( )] indicates a missing portion with no presumed written contents. Finally, ! or !? are used for relatively sure, or resp. doubtful, corrections to the hitherto accepted readings and interpretations.

For reasons of coherence, much the same system has been extended to the West Semitic epigraphs - as against the traditional use of dots or small circles, both to underscore doubtful graphemes and to substitute lost signs, in Semitic epigraphical studies. However, a substantial reason may also be called upon for this choice: at least as regards the documents under examination, it was felt that the greater number of marking possibilities offered by the Assyriological system guaranteed a higher degree of accuracy in the transliterations. Whether this choice was ultimately reasonable and useful or not, is for others to say.

A. N I N E V E H

1. *K.* 405.

ADD 335 = *ARU* 337.

CIS II/1, 16 = *ABC* 1 = EA 1 = *Ep. Ar.* 1 = *Lieberman* 1

Assyrian

Conveyance document. Sale of 3 *bēt qāti* (workshops?) and a *tarbaṣu* (fenced enclosure), with wooden door, in Nineveh (Obv. 2' - 5'). The immoveable is spatially defined in relation to three adjacent properties (Obv. 5' - B. E. 1). It is bought by one *Di-li[l-* from Dayyan-Kurba'il for 30 shekels of silver (B.E. 2 - Rev. 2). Penalty clauses and names of witnesses (rev. 3 ff.). Date: 22/V/687.

Cf. S. Parpola, *Assur* 2 (1981), 160, for collations to the text.

Aramaic

Seven signs on L.H.E., proceeding from top to bottom; the last sign is only partially legible. Copy: fig. 1.

dynkrb⌜*l*⌝

Notes. The Aramaic presents a personal name, corresponding to that of the seller, given in Rev. 1 of the cuneiform as ^{I}DI.KU$_5$-*Kur-ba-il*. On the basis of Assyrian parallels, the correct reading of both versions was established by F. Vattioni, *Augustinianum* 9 (1969),

368-369; however, the previous hand-copies and reading of the alphabetic part (cf. Stevenson, Delaporte: *dynkrb[n)* did not allow for positive evidence on the conclusive sign(s), thus leaving Vattioni himself in doubt[1]. In fact, as may be seen from fig. 1, the curve of a lamed is relatively clear before the central break of the tablet.

For the Assyrian toponym Kurba'il which forms the subject-element of the name, cf. S. Parpola, *NAT*, 217-218[2].

2. 83-1-18, 334.

ADD 255 = *ARU* 50 = Menzel, *AT* II, 179-180.

CIS II/1, 32 = *ABC* 19 = *EA* 28 = *Ep. Ar.* 28 = *Lieberman* 2.

Assyrian

Conveyance document, fragmentary. On the Obv., the sealings and 11 lines are preserved; on the Rev., 17 lines; two lines on the Upper Edge. From the text of the Obverse, it is clear that a certain Bēl-abu-uṣur sells three family groups -formed each by a paterfamilias "and his people"-to a certain Marduk-[, who is in the service of king Sennacherib, for a talent (of copper?). Date: 14/intercalary-XII/684.

1. Ibid., 369: "La lettura dell'epigrafe aramaica dovrà quindi essere djn krb['l o krb[l".
2. For the Aramaic rendering of the toponym and its parallels in the place name Arba'il, cf. Part One, p. 52.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. NA_4. KISIB ^{I}EN.AD.PAP E[N $UN^{MEŠ}$ SUM-*ni*]

Seal impressions

2. ^{I}*Ba-ra-a-ḫu a-di* $UN^{MEŠ}$[-*šú*]
3. ^{I}*Ṭa-bu-ni a-di* U[$N^{MEŠ}$-*šú*]
4. [^{I}]*Si-ti-ir-ka-a-nu a*[-*di* $UN^{MEŠ}$-*šú*]
5. [*g*]*ab-bu a-na gi-mi*[*r-ti-šú-nu*]
6. *ú-piš-ma* $^{I.d}$MES[
7. *ša* $^{I.d}$30.PAP^{MEŠ}-S[U MAN ^{KUR}*Aš+šur*(?)]
8. *i-na* ŠÀ *bi-lat* [URUDU^{MEŠ} (?)]
9. *TA IGI ^{I}EN.A[D.PAP *ilqe*]
10. [*kas-pu*] *ga*[-*mur ta-din*]
11. [ ] x x [

(Rest of Obv. lost - beginning of Rev. lost)

Rev. 1'. IGI ^{I}[
2'. IGI $^{I.d}$PA.KAR-*ir-a-*[*ni* ^{LÚ}
3'. IGI $^{I.d}$PA-*mu*-SIG_5 ^{LÚ}[
4'. IGI $^{I.d}$KÁ-^{d}BE-*nu-ra-a+a* ^{LÚ} *láḫ-ḫi-*[*nu*]
5'. IGI $^{I.d}$*Šá-maš*-MU.PAP ^{LÚ}SANGA *ša* ^{d}[ ]
6'. IGI ^{I}PAP-*la-mur* ^{LÚ}SANGA *ša* ^{d}[ ]
7'. IGI ^{I}*Na-bu-u-a* ^{LÚ}SANGA *ša* ^{d}[ ]
8'. IGI ^{I}*Un-zar*$_4$*-ḫu* ^{LÚ}SANGA *ša* ^{d}KURNUN
9'. IGI ^{I}*Mar-di-i* ^{LÚ}SANGA *ša* ^{d}GAŠAN! KUR-*ḫa*
10'. IGI ^{Id}ME.ME.NUMUN.DÙ ^{LÚ}SANGA *ša* ^{d}ME.ME
11'. IGI ^{I}*Aš+šur*-ZU-*a-ni* ^{LÚ}I.DU$_8$ *ša* É.GAL
12'. IGI ^{I}*Zi-zi-ia* ^{LÚ}I.DU$_8$ *ša* É.GAL
13'. IGI ^{I}DINGIR.KAM-*eš* ^{LÚ}I.DU$_8$ *ša* É.GAL
14'. IGI ^{I}*Mu-qa-lil*-ÚŠ ^{LÚ} "

15'. IGI ^{I}*Ba-na-a+a* ^{LÚ} "
16'. IGI ^{I}*Ga-lul* ^{LÚ} "
17'. IGI ^{I}NUNUZ-*a+a* A.[BA]
U.E. 1. ^{ITI}ŠE UD 14 KAM *lim-mu* [^{I}*Man-za-ar-né-e*]
2. ^{LÚ}*šá-kin* ^{URU}*Ku-l*[*a-ni-a*]

Aramaic

On L.H.E., from top to bottom; fragmentary after 5 signs. Copy: fig. 2.

šrkn ṭ[

Notes. The reading of the alphabetic text given here coincides fully with that of *CIS*, *ABC*, *EA*, and *ARU*; while Vattioni, *Ep. Ar.*, has *štrkn*. As for the interpretation of the epigraph, it may be foremost recalled that a connection of *šrkn* with the name of king Sargon II, suggested by *CIS*, was ruled out by Delaporte, in view of the presence of Sennacherib's name in Obv. 7 of the Assyrian text. But, of course, phonological reasons also may be brought forth against such an identification: in a seal impression from Khorsabad of the age of Sargon[3], the name of the king himself is given as *srgn*, in conformity with two of the basic "rules" of transcription of Assyrian into alphabetic script (cf. pp. 59, 61 ff.).

A second hypothesis was proposed by Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 382, and has continued enjoying success (cf. G.R. Driver, *RSO* 32[1957], 53; Vattioni, loc. cit.; etc.): *šrkn ṭ*[would correspond to the

3. Published by M. Sprengling, *AJSL* 49 (1932), 53-58: cf. p. 138 and note 14, below, for further bibliography.

names of two of the family heads transacted in the deed, namely *Si-ti-ir-ka-a-nu* and *Ṭa-bu-u-ni*. Against this view, Delaporte had pointed out the difficulties arising from "l'absence du *t* en araméen" as regards the first name, and by "l'inversion des noms des personnages" in comparison with Obv. 3'-4' of the cuneiform text. Personally, I would note that the sole (and relatively minor) difficulty for this interpretation is represented by the lack of any "label" (*'dnt*, *'grt*, *l*) preceding the names of the people sold - a feature which has no parallels for the moment (cf. Part One, 1.2). This said, however, it may be pointed out that the cuneiform name *Si-ti-ir-ka-a-nu* has been analyzed as Iranian by R. Zadok (= **Čiθraka + ana*)[4] and justified in its correspondence with *šrkn* as possibly reflecting an otherwise well-known "dialectal pronunciation *hr* of θr". And alternatively, one might take into account the possibility for an erroneous transcription on the part of the Aramaic scribe - as is the case in no. 26, below -, i. e. to suppose that a <t> was "skipped".

At all events, it must now be held as quite plausible that *šrkn* was, or was felt to be, the counterpart of the cuneiform writing *Si-ti-ir-ka-a-nu*. As for *ṭ*[= *Ṭa-bu-u-ni*, its plausibility depends fully on that of the previous equation; for in this case, we might consider that the Aramaic scribe had taken down the names of the patresfamilias sold *in inverse order* from the Assyrian deed, i. e. we might even go as far as restoring the sequence as follows,

4. *IOS* 7 (1977), 103[139]; *AfO* 28 (1981-82), 136[24].

šrkn ṭ[bwn brḥ[5].

5. A fourth hypothesis stems from an oral suggestion long past offered to me by Prof. K. Deller (to whom all thanks are due), and now rapidly touched upon in Menzel, *AT*, II, 167, 180. In this view, *šrkn* would not represent a personal name, but a loanword into Aramaic from Akkadian (and especially, though not exclusively, Babylonian) *šerku*, "gift; temple votary" (cf. *AHw.*, 1217a), endowed with the Aramaic *-n* masc. plural marker (=**še/irkīn*). It might, in fact, be argued that the three family groups named in Obv. 2-4 were temple votaries, with the aid of two elements: (1) a certain number of witnesses to the conveyance are connected professionally to temples (cf. Rev. 4'-10': a *laḫḫinu* and 5 *sangū*); (2) in Obv. 6-7, where the name of the king is mentioned, the fragmentary context might be reconstructed as bearing the dedicatory formula *ana balāṭ napšāte*, "for the life of..." after the name of the buyer (i.e., "Marduk-[ ] bought [for the life of] Sennacherib, king of Assyria "). This formula is to be found, e.g., in connection with the name of king Sin-sar-iskun in the text *ND* 5550 (=J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, no. 15; Menzel, AT, II, 169-170), a clear deed of dedication to Nabû of the post-canonical period. The *šrkn =*še/irkīn* hypothesis has, further, hardly any morphological or lexical difficulties to it: cf. no. 16, below, for the addition of *-n* to an Assyrian plural form, and nos. 3, 30, for the identification of totally new loanwords (which, however, derive much more unilaterally than **šerku* from an Assyrian environment). On the other hand, the basic objection that may be raised against this hypothesis is phonological in character: in a Neo-Assyrian milieu, the noun *šerku* would have been pronounced /*serku/, and thus would have unmistakably caused a transcription into alphabetic script with the use of samekh, not of šin.

3. 81-2-4, 147.

ADD 129 = *ARU* 313

CIS II/1, 38 = *ABC* 2 = *EA* 21 = *Ep. Ar.* 21 = *Lieberman* 3

Assyrian

Triangular corn-loan docket, presenting 9 lines of cuneiform script on the Obverse. Date: VII/682. Copy: fig. 3.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. 5 ANŠE ŠE.PAD^{MEŠ}
2. *ša* DUMU.MAN ŠU^{2}
3. ^{I}*Ta-qu-u-ni* LÚ$_{2}$*-u*
4. *ina* IGI ^{I}*Ḫa-ma-ṭu-ṭu*
5. *ša* URU*Ḫa-an-du-a-te*
6. ŠE.PAD^{MEŠ} *a-na* 1 ANŠE 5-BÁN-*šá*
7. *tar*-GAL-*bi* ITI$_{DU_6}$
8. *lim-mu* $^{I.d}$PA.MAN.PAD
9. 5 LÚ$_{ŠE.KIN.KUD}^{MEŠ}$

Translation

"5 *emāru*s of barley, belonging to the crown prince, under the control of Taqūni, (his) 'deputy', (are debited) to Ḫamaṭuṭu of the town Ḫanduate. The (interest on the) barley grows by 1 *emāru*, 5 *sāti* of it. Month of Tašrītu, eponymy of Nabû-šarru-uṣur. Five harvesters (also owed)".

Aramaic

Seven lines of alphabetic script on Reverse. Copy: fig. 3.

Transliteration

Rev. 1. *š^{c}rn. s$^{!}$nh. zy*

2. *br. mlk'. ^{c}l*

3. *ḫmṭṭ. mn. ḥdwh*

4. 5 *b* 6,5

5. *ḥṣdn* 5

6. *l'm. rbsrs*

7. *nbsrṣr*

Translation

"Barley - the 'deputy' of the crown prince (has debited) to Ḥamṭuṭ from Ḥadduat. 5 (*emārus*) at 6 (*emārus*), 5 (*sāti*), and 5 harvesters. Eponymy of the chief eunuch, Nabû-šarru-uṣur".

Notes. This bilingual tablet present texts of identical content, save for the three following features: (1) the personal name ^{I}*Ta-qu-u-ni*[6]; (2) the month name, also exclusive of the Assyrian version; (3) the professional title of the *limmu*, given only in the alphabetic version. Such a result of quasi-total correspondence between Obverse and Reverse is, however, based on two innovations in reading and interpretation on all previous versions of the alphabetic part, which should be illustrated in detail.

The first innovation is the reading of the fifth sign of Rev.

6. Cf. the personal name *tqn/tqny* in nos. 46, 47, below.

1 as samekh and not zayin (cf. the different inclination of the zayin in *zy* of the same line). This allows the reconstruction of the second word in the line as *snh*, equivalent to the Neo-Assyrian professional title in Obv. 3, ^{LÚ}*2-u*, i.e. *šaniu, šanû*, "deputy, second in charge"[7], which was presumably pronounced **saniu/sanû* on the basis of the shift of sibilants discussed in Part One, pp.61-63, above. Further, the writing *snh* would seem to refer to the Oblique case of the noun (**sanê*), in accordance with the general rules of case-ending loss and persistence of the Neo-Assyrian period (cf. *GAG*, § 63e, and the parallel case of *smmh*, text no. 50). The previously accepted reading, *znh*, "this" would in any case require ruling out per se, due to problems of grammatical concordance (*š^{c}rn* being plural: cf. *DISO*, 315), and of overall sense[8].

The second innovation involves the precise correspondence between the two versions as regards the interest rates on the loaned barley[9]. Against all previous editions except *ABC*, the end of Rev. 4 is not to be interpreted as bearing a waw after the uprights[10], but a series of horizontals linked together by

7. Cf. *AHw.*, 1165a.

8. Cf. Delaporte, 40: "Ce sont les orges du fils du roi ...", taken up by Vattioni, *Ep.Ar.*, 499. It is thus not surprising that *ARU*, p. 204, presents no transliteration or translation of the second word of the epigraph, obviously viewed as obscure in the form *znh*.

9. For Neo-Assyrian ŠE.PAD^{MEŠ} as corresponding to *še'u*, "barley", or "cereals" in general, cf. *AHw.*, 1222b; differently, R. Borger, *RlA* 3, 310, suggests the reading *uṭṭetu*, a feminine noun (cf. fn. 12, below).

10. Such uprights are considered to be seven in number by all previous commentators; but in fact, the last one is probably an accidental nick on the tablet, at the "corner" between the Reverse and the right-hand edge, since it is much shorter than the adjacent ones.

transversal traits, so as to form successive z-like graphs: these indicate the subdivisions of the *emāru*, i.e. the *sāti*, as is clear from the Assur Aramaic tablets, nos. 46 and ff., below[11]. In this light, Delaporte's (and Vattioni's) understanding of the number after *b* in Rev. 4 as relevant to the months of duration of the corn loan is to be rejected: the two versions tally in full in giving the i n t e r e s t r a t e of 1 *emāru*, 5 *sāti*[12], with no relation to the length of the loan in time[13].

Other points of interest in the text fall under the cases discussed in Part One, 2.3, above. For *ḥdwh*, cf. ibid., p. 67; for *l'm*, ibid., pp. 75, 78, and 88; for the name *nbsrṣr*, ibid., pp. 55, 62, and see also A.R. Millard, *JSS* 21 (1976), 5. Finally, for the professional name *rbsrs* as corresponding to Assyrian *rab ša rēši*, cf. Kaufman, *Influences*, 100; *AHw.*, 974 a; and add a further attestation drawn from the already quoted Khorsabad clay sealing, [*l'*] *pn'sr* / [*l'*] *mr srs z' srgn* / *pn'sr*,

11. Cf. *KAI* II, 294, for a synoptical view of such writings. A further illustration of the same writings is provided by E. Lipiński, *SAIO*, 88, although with a misleading reference to an allegedly underlying Aramaic system of dry capacity measures (*ḥmr* and *ʿmr*): cf. texts 46-49 below.

12. I.e. 30 % interest. In Obv. 6, the final -*šá* of 1 ANŠE 5-BAN-*šá* is to be understood as referring to the ŠE.PAD^{MEŠ}, which -whatever its exact reading (cf. footnote 9, above)- is grammatically a noun in the feminine singular: cf. Postgate, *FNALD*, 42; Parpola, *LAS* II, 319 ad 24.

13. Repayments of corn loans were usually made *ina adri*, "at threshing time": cf. Postgate, *FNALD*, 42, for the Neo-Assyrian evidence, and see texts 48, 53 in the present collection for alphabetic equivalents to such an expression.

"[Belonging to] Pan-Assur-[lā]mur, eunuch of Sargon, (alias?) Pan-Aššur"[14].

* * *

In general, the present text may be ranged with nos. 6,7,9, below, as records of loans of "barley belonging to the crown prince"; with no. 6, it also shares the geographical framework (the town of Ḫanduate - *ḥdwh*). Aside from the obvious conclusion that these four texts formed part of the same "archive" or deposit of written material within the Nineveh palaces, the question might be posed concerning the identity of the "crown prince" mentioned in the deeds. Now, a straightforward answer on this count is rather difficult, for two main reasons. The first reason is that the date of text no.3, 682 B.C., seventh month, precedes by less than a year and a half the murder of king Sennacherib: at this moment, the heir-designate could well have been the future sovereign Esarhaddon, or the title *mār šarri* could have still been applied to the elder brother A/Urda-Mulišši, as in a deed of 694 B.C.[15]. The second reason is that text no. 9, below, dates from 674 B.C., when Esarhaddon was solidly on the throne - and in fact, just two years

14. Bibliography in note 3, above; for the improved reading, cf. S.A. Kaufman, *The History of Aramaic Vowel Reduction*, in M. Sokoloff (Ed.), *Arameans, Aramaic, and the Aramaic Literary Tradition*, Ramat-Gan 1983, 53-54, and previously, the announcements by A.R. Millard, *Iraq* 45 (1983), 103; H. Tadmor, in *MsN*, II, 461-462[23].

15. Cf. S. Parpola, *The Murderer of Sennacherib*, in: *Mesopotamia*, 8 (Copenhagen 1980), 171-182, and esp. 171[7].

before his well-known decision of dividing the imperial heritage between Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šumu-ukīn[16]. In the light of these two points, it might be suggested that the expression ŠE.PAD^{MEŠ} *ša* DUMU.MAN = *š^{c}rn zy br mlk'* (cf. no. 7, below) referred rather to the barley proceeding from the landed holdings allotted in a fixed institutional manner to the *mār šarri* - such as e.g. are known to have existed in the province of Guzana[17] - than to goods in the possession of a specific personality bearing that title.

4. 83-1-18, 345.

ADD 279 = *ARU* 533.

ABC 3 = *EA* 13 = *Ep. Ar.* 13 = *Lieberman* 4.

Assyrian

Conveyance text: sale of slaves. Top right-hand fragment, 9 + 10' lines. On the Obverse, the name of the seller is partially preserved (line 1: ^{I}EN.KASKAL-⌜x⌝-*a-ni*: cf. S. Parpola, *Assur* 2, 151). After two stamp seal impressions, Obv. 3 has the name of the

16. Cf. most recently S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 116 ff. for discussion and bibliography on the problems of the succession of Esarhaddon.

17. Evidence on this point comes e.g. from *CT* 53, no. 46 (transliterated and translated by F.M. Fales, *AfO* 27 [1980], 215-219; id., *Cento lettere neo-assire*, I, Venezia 1983, 118-125), but also from the Assyrian-Aramaic tablets from the Brussels Museum collection (which might well have been Tell Halaf material): cf., provisionally, P. Garelli, *Les archives inedites d'un centre provincial assyrien*, paper read at the XXX R.A.I., Leiden 1983 (kindly supplied by the author); see also fn. 218, below.

person sold, on which there is little agreement among the different editions: both *ARU* and Parpola read here[^{I}.]⌜x x - *šu*⌝ ÌR-*šú*, while Johns, *ADD*, had]*bar ma*$^{?}$ *ki*$^{?}$ ÌR-*šú*. My collation showed merely that Johns' *ki* was not to be ruled out, whereas the two faded signs before it were difficult to interpret. After a further obliterated line, the sale formulae, the prices, and the penalty clauses follow in a very fragmentary state. The Reverse, broken at top, is occupied by witnesses' names and the date (Rev. 8'-10': 14/VIII/681).

Aramaic

On the L.H.E., from top to bottom, beginning at the level of the U.E. Copy: Fig. 4.

⌜*d*⌝*nt* *^{c}tr*!*m*![*lk (?)*

Notes. In the Assyrian version, as implied above, the name of the slave in Obv. 3 might possibly be made out as presenting a final sign *-ki* or *-šu*. As for the Aramaic, the previous versions presented three graphs in the second word: Delaporte, Vattioni *^{c}tr*[; Stevenson, Johns *^{c}tb*[; Ungnad *^{c}tq*[. In fact, however, four signs are visible, the fourth being a fairly clear *mem*, preserved in its upper part. It is hardly to be doubted, at this point, that the sequel to *dnt* was a personal name, formed by a subject - element *^{c}tr* (=*^{c}Attar*: cf. Zadok, *WSB*, 34 ff., with previous bibliography on this divine name); whereas the predicative element might, or might not, have been formed by the root **mlk*, "to rule".

5. *K.* 76.

ADD 279 = *ARU* 64.

CIS II/1, 17 = *ABC* 4 = *EA* 14 = *Ep. Ar.* 14 = *Lieberman* 5.

Assyrian

Conveyance text, complete. Cf. S. Parpola, *Assur* 2, 140-141 for collations. Date: VII/680.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. NA_4.KIŠIB ^{I}IR.15
2. EN $UN^{MEŠ}$ SUM-*ni*

two stamp seal impressions

3. ^{I}*Ú-se-'e* 2 $SAL^{MEŠ}$-*šú*
4. ^{SAL}*Me-'e-sa-a* ^{SAL}*Ba-di-a*
5. ^{I}*Se-gab-a* ^{I}EN.KASKAL-*tak-lak*
6. 2 $SAL.DUMU^{MEŠ}$ *pír-su*
7. PAP 7 $ZI^{MEŠ}$ **LÚ* $IR^{MEŠ}$
8. *ša* ^{I}IR-^{d}15
9. *ú-piš-ma* ^{I}*Se-ma-a-di*

B.E. 1. *ina lìb-bi* 3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR
2. *il-qi kas-pu*

Rev. 1. *ga-mur ta-ad-din*
2. *tu-a-ru de-e-nu*
3. KA.KA *la-a-šú*
4. IGI ^{I}EN.ZALÁG **LÚ* *tam-qar*
5. IGI ^{I}*Am-ia-te-'e-ú*
6. IGI ^{I}*Sa-an-gi-i*
7. IGI ^{I}KU-*i-sa-a*

8. IGI ^{I}*Se-*BÀD
9. IGI (*vacat*)
10. ^{ITI}DUL *lim-mu* ^{I}*Da-na-nu*

Translation

"Seal of Urad-Ištar, owner of the land (here) transacted. Hawse^{c}, two women of his, (i.e.) the women Me'sâ and Badia: (the sons$^{?}$) Se-gaba' and Bēl-Ḫarrān-taklak, two daughters, (of) 'weaned' (age): in all, 7 people, serfs, belonging to Urad-Ištar - Se-ma^{c}di contracted and took for 3 minas of silver. The sum has been paid *in toto:* there is no further withdrawal, lawsuit, or litigation". Witnesses and date.

Aramaic

On U.E., immediately following the end of the Assyrian text on the Reverse, and on the L.H.E.[18]. Copy: fig. 5.

Transliteration

U.E.: *dnt hwšʿ*

L.H.E.: [()] 5$^{?}$ + *l*$^{?}$ *g*$^{?}$. *'nš* 5 + 2. *zy 'rd*[']*š*[()]

Translation

"Deed of Hawšeʿ (plus$^{?}$) six, a t(otal$^{?}$) of seven people, belonging to Urad-Išša(r)".

Notes. No significant problems are posed by the first part of the

18. Not "bord inferieur" and "bord superieur" (Delaporte).

alphabetic text. The name *Ú-se-'e = hwšᶜ* has been last discussed at length by R. Zadok[19]. The name is undisputably Hebrew; while the same may not be said of the onomastics of the two wives mentioned in the cuneiform text, Obv. 4[20]. The other two serfs (Obv. 5: *Se-gab-a* and EN.KASKAL-*tak-lak*) have resp. an Aramaic name[21] and an Assyrian one, but similarly going back to the deities of the Moon-cult from the Ḫarrān region[22]. Both the seller and the buyer of the present text are attested - with the same functions - in the conveyance *ADD* 231 = *ARU* 202, of 681 B.C., resp. in Obv. 1 and 7-8 (with *Se-e'-ma-a'-di* described therein as LÚ.GAL.URU.MEŠ *ša* DUMU.MAN, "village-comptroller for the crown prince").

The reading of the signs on the L.H.E. tallies in general with that of Stevenson[23], and differs sharply from that of Delaporte[24], although it may be noticed that no particularly significant differences mark the various copies. With all previous authors, however, I accept the reading of the first graph after *'nš* as "5" (as possibly also in no. 17, U.E.: cf. below); consequently, the identity of this graph with the first visible one on the line may be suggested. In any case, it is worth observing that the

19. *WSB*, 244, 255; also and especially id., *Jews*, 26 and 108[82]. For previous bibliography and parallels, cf. *HALAT*, 233a; and see Part One, p. 70, above, for the writing and phonology.
20. Agreeing with Zadok, *Jews*, 36.
21. Built from the root *GBH: cf. Zadok, *WSB*, 87.
22. Cf. Fales, *CCENA*, 105-114, for such onomastics; also, Zadok, *WSB*, 42-45. The epithet "lord of Ḫarrān" for the Moon-god, present in the second name, is attested as such in Aramaic in the inscription *KAI* 218, of Barrakib (*bᶜlḥrn*).
23. *ABC*, 117-118.
24. *EA*, 35, cf. also Vattioni, *Ep.Ar.*, 497.

particular writing of number graphemes in conveyance texts may vary from that of contract texts, where vertical strokes only would seem to be used (cf. index of numerals on p. 281, below).

The main *crux* in the present version is of course the identification of the semantic value for the graph *g* (L.H.E., sign III) in this particular context. Following a suggestion by Stevenson, *ABC*, 118, I would tentatively suggest that it could have represented an abbreviated writing for a word meaning "total". The latter might either have been a loanword from Late Akkadian *gimru*, which should have been the (or at least one) reading for the Neo-Assyrian logogram PAP "total"[25], or an independent Aramaic formation[26]. The following *'nš* has been discussed in Part One, p. 82; the personal name *'rd*⌜⌝[š], ibid., p. 64.

6. *K.* 3784.

ADD 130 = *ARU* 327.

CIS II/1, 40 = *ABC* 25 = *EA* 22 = *Ep. Ar.* 22 = *Lieberman* 6.

Assyrian

Triangular corn-loan docket, fragmentary on the right-hand side. Date not given, but around 680 B.C., due to the presence of the same individual - with identical function - as the lender in no. 3, above. Copy: fig. 6.

25. As may be desumed from the writings LÚ.PAP and KUR.PAP-*ir* to designate the *Gimirrāyu* (Cimmerians): cf. Parpola, *NAT*, 132-134, and *AHw.*, 289a-b for *gimru*.
26. Cf. *DISO*, 51, for *gmr*, "total" in later Jewish Aramaic.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. 3 ANŠE *ina* IGI ^{I}[*Iá-a-i-si*]
2. 2 ANŠE 8-BÁN *ina* IGI [^{I}*Gab-bu*-DINGIR^{MEŠ}]
3. PAP 5 ANŠE 8-BÁN ŠE[.PAD^{MEŠ}]
4. *ša* DUMU.MAN ša [ŠU^{2}]
5. ^{I}*Ta-qu-u-ni* ^{*L}[^{Ú}*2-u*]
6. *ina* IGI ^{I}*Iá-a-i-s*[*i*]
7. *ina* IGI ^{I}*Gab-bu*-DINGIR^{MEŠ}[()]
8. ^{URU}*Ḫa-an-du-a-a-t*[*a*]
9. ˹ŠE˺.PAD^{MEŠ} *a-na* 1 ANŠ[E GAL*(-bi)*]
10. [n ^{*L}]^{Ú}ŠE.KIN.KUD[^{MEŠ}]

Translation

"3 *emārus* at the disposal of [Iaisi], 2 *emārus*, 8 *sāti* at the disposal of [Gabbu-ilāni] - in all, 5 *emārus*, 8 *sāti* of bar[ley] belonging to the crown prince, under [the control] of Taqūni, the ['deputy'], at the disposal of Iaisi, at the disposal of Gabbu-ilāni, of the town Ḫanduata. The (interest rate on the) barley [will increase] by 1 *emāru*. [n] harvesters (also owed)".

Aramaic

On Reverse; remnants of four lines of alphabetic script.

Transliteration

Rev. 1. *š*^{c}*rn.* [*snh. zy*]
2. *br.* [*mlk'.* ^{c}*l y'š(?)*]
3. *w*^{c} [*l gb'ln (?) mn(?)*]
4. *ḥ*[*dwh*
(remainder lost)

Translation

"Barley, [the 'deputy' of] the crown [prince (debited) to Iaisi], and t[o Gabbu-ilāni, from] Ḫa[dduat ..."

Notes. The present version agrees substantially with that of Delaporte; Vattioni's rendering of l.2 as *br* [*mlk'*], "figlio [del re]", is imprecise, since there is certainly room for more than 4 signs in the break. For *snh* and *ḥdwh*, cf. no. 3, above.

7. *Rm.* 909.
CIS II/1, 41 = *EA* 24 = *Ep. Ar.* 24 = *Lieberman* 7.

Aramaic

Upper left-hand fragment of a triangular corn-loan docket, bearing the end part of 2 lines, and a fragmentary third line, in alphabetic script. The piece is a flake, and thus does not allow definite statements as to whether a cuneiform inscription was also present, on the opposite side; cf. no. 9, for an unilingual Aramaic exemplar from the same "archive" as nos. 3, 6, above. Copy: fig. 7.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. [x x *š*]^{c}*rn.* [*z*$^{!}$] *y*$^{!}$ *br*
2. [*mlk*]' ^{c}[*l*] *'rbld*$^{!}$*r*$^{!}$
3.]x x[

Translation

"[n of (?)] barley, [belo]nging to the crown [prince],

(debited) t[o] Arba'il-dūrī (?) ..."

Notes. From the actual-size copy, it is clear that the space in the break of line 1 is not sufficient to justify Delaporte's reconstruction, [š]^{c}*rn z*[*nh z*]*y br*, which moreover is incorrect, in the light of what we have established for no. 3, above. After š^{c}*rn*, in fact, a word-divider, and not the right-hand side of a zayin, is apparent. At the beginning of the line, a series of number-graphs might have been present, so as to fill in an equivalent space to that which may be assigned to the initial part of l. 2.

The first element of the name in l.2, *'rbl-*, is discussed by A. R. Millard, *JSS* 21 (1976), 6, ad 2.4.3.4. The predicative element has been hitherto understood as *-rb:* Delaporte and Tallqvist[27] read *'rblr*[, restoring resp. as *-erba* (from *erēbu*, "to enter") and *rabbā*, while Vattioni read *-rb*[(=*erba*). However, this predicative part might be better interpreted ad *-d'r'*, both on paleographic grounds (cf. the bets in the same line and in the line above) and on the basis of contemporary onomastics in cuneiform. The latter show the theophorous element Arba'il to be consistently coupled with nominal predicates, not verbal ones[28]. I thus suggest to view here the presence of a noun *dr* = Ass. *dūru*, *dūrī* "(my) wall, protection", also with reference to the further case of *-dr* in no. 31, below. In line 3, the second sign might be pe, and the first conceivably an aleph, as copied by Delaporte, who, however, transliterated]*pn* (cf. also Vattioni: *p ?*).

27. *APN*, 28b.

28. Materials in *APN*, 28b; see also F.M. Fales, *Iraq* 41 (1979), 57; and cf. text no. 27, below, for an Assyro-Aramaic attestation.

8. *K.* 3788.

Knudtzon, *AGS*, no. 120.

CIS II/1, 25 = *ABC*, Notes, 47 = *EA* 3 = *Ep. Ar.* 3 = *Lieberman* 8.

Assyrian

The text, badly described by Delaporte, is part of the series published by Knudtzon, *AGS*, containing addresses to the sun-god Šamaš with a request for an answer to a political or military problem, to be given by means of extispicy: the dates vary between 676 and 657 B.C., but are mainly to be assigned to the reign of Esarhaddon. For the names of the most frequently attested divination experts in this series - and the parallel group published by Klauber, *PRT* - cf. J. Aro, *Remarks on the Practice of Extispicy in the Time of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, in XIV *RAI*, *La divination en Mesopotamie ancienne*, Paris 1966, 109 ff.: the two named in the present address were regular members of Esarhaddon's equipe, and operated in various centers, essentially before 672 B.C. The king's name is in fact to be partially restored in Obv. 1': cf. *AGS*, p. 244. One of the named individuals (Aqarâ) is also known as author a letter of petition to one Assyrian ruler[29].

Aramaic

On the B.E. of the tablet, as correctly copied by Knudtzon, *AGS*, I, pl. 47, no. 120. My copy: fig. 8.

29. The text is *ABL* 1259, listed in S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 497.

nbwšlm 'q[r']

Notes. The present reading tallies with Knudtzon's copy and transliteration, while Delaporte's copy ends with the initial aleph of the second name: Vattioni derives from *EA* both the transliteration ('[*qr*']) and the erroneous Assyrian correspondence (*A-qur-a-a*). As a matter of fact, both *AGS* II, 327, 331 (1893) and Tallqvist, *APN*, 25a + 314b, 163a-b (1914) list the relatively numerous attestations of the two diviners, whose name was Nabû-(u)šallim (=$^{I.d}$AG-*ú-šal-lim*/$^{I.d}$PA-*šal-lim*) and Aqarâ (always ^{I}*A-qar-a*)[30]. To be noticed is the fact that in all (approx. 260) known examples of *AGS*- and *PRT*-type texts and fragments[31], the present one is the only tablet bearing the name of the diviners in Aramaic.

9. *K.* 3785.

CIS II/1, 39 = *ABC*, p. 115 = *EA* 23 = *Ep. Ar.* 23 = *Lieberman* 9.

Aramaic

Corn-loan docket, bearing 6 (=4 + 2) lines of alphabetic script, on the "short" axis in the Obv., on the "long" axis in the Rev. Two fingernail and stamp seal impressions on U.E. Dates: 674

30. Cf. H.Tadmor in *MsN*, II, 454, 465[69], for a recent -and correct- evaluation of the Aramaic and Assyrian onomastics here presented.

31. Examination of originals by G.B. Lanfranchi (VII/82, personal communication).

B.C. Copy: fig. 9.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. *š^{c}rn. zy. br*

2. *mlk'. ^{c}l. nbz$^{!}$rbn*

3. *mn ^{c}y$^{?}$/z$^{?}$rn* 5

4. *b* 6

Rev. 1. *wḥṣdn* 5

2. *lm. srnry*

Translation

"Barley, of the crown prince, (debited) to Nabû-zēr-ibni from (the town) ^{c}Y$^{?}$/Z$^{?}$RN. Five (*emārus*) against six, plus five harvesters (as interest). Eponymy of Šarru-nūrī".

Notes. The text is rather similar to nos. 3, 6 (bilingual) and 7 (only Aramaic). The only real innovation of my version is in the reading of the name of the debtor, not *nbyrbn*[32], but *nbzrbn* - viewing the graph zayin as written on the edge of the tablet, and not entirely easy to make out as such. In any case, the reading *nbzrbn* would lead to a very common Assyrian onomastic formation, DN-*zēru-ibni* (cf. *APN*, 275b), which is, by the way, not devoid of

32. Made to correspond to Nabû-erbani by A.R. Millard, *JSS* 21 (1976), 5, ad 2.4.1.2.

parallels in alphabetic texts[33].

The name of the town in l. 3 might correspond to the site known as ^{URU}IA-*ra-nu* in *ADD* 630:8 (cf. Parpola, *NAT*, 184), a contract of unclear date to which - casually or not - an individual named Nabû-zēru-ibni is associated[34].

On the other hand, in view of the modification proposed for l. 2, I have believed it useful not to forego the suggestion of an alternative reading *ʿzrn* - not implausible in itself, since it would seem to refer back to the root **ʿḏr*, "to help". As a third and last hypothesis, if one went back to the traditional reading *ʿyrn*, it might be possible to connect the toponym to the West Semitic root **ǵwr*, "to rouse oneself, to awaken" - and thus, at least in theory[35] to view our place name as corresponding to cuneiform ^{URU}*Ḫi-ra-na*, a site attested in the conveyance *ADD* 210[36]. All three solutions are, as is obvious, almost equally tentative.

33. Cf. e.g. *šnzrbn =*Sîn-zēru-ibni* in the first Nerab stela, *KAI* 225:1; or *nbwzr'bn*, i.e. the same name as in this text, in Cowley, *AP*, 8:28; 28:14; etc.

34. For Assyrian IA as /ay/, among other solutions, cf. e.g. the toponyms IA-*na-ta-'a*, *CCENA* 1:II, 25, and *A+a-na-ta-a*, *CCENA* 4:IV, 11, as referring to one and the same site, the name of which was presumably formed by West Sem. **ʿyn*, "source".

35. Cf. F.M. Fales, *ACF* 19/3 (1980), 7 ff., and see Part One, p. 73.

36. Cf. S. Parpola, *NAT*, 164; contra, B. Menzel, *AT*, II, T215:302, equalizes this toponym with Ḫarran, although with no real justification.

10. *K.* 8528.

ADD 613 = *ARU* 403.

CIS II/1, 27 = *ABC* 23 = *EA* 18 = *Ep. Ar.* 18 = *Lieberman* 10.

Assyrian

Conveyance text, quite fragmentary. The tablet is a "bottom" fragment, preserved from around half of the Obv. to end, and from the beginning of Rev. to half. Sale of a plot of land (A.ŠÀ = *eqlu*, mentioned in Obv. 4'), owned by Titî, to Adad-na'id for 1/2 mina, 4 shekels of silver. The name of the contracting parties can be made out through the penalty clauses (resp. in Rev. 1, Rev. 3). Undated, and lacking noteworthy prosopographical features for chronological aims: the sole attempt at a dating is Lieberman's (*BASOR* 192, 27), who places the text around 670 on the basis of Aramaic paleography.

Aramaic

On L.H.E.. from bottom to top until the break, remnants of two lines, 6 + 8 signs. Copy: fig. 10.

Transliteration

1. *dnt ḥql['*]
2. *zy tty*$^{?}$ *m*$^{?}$*n*$^{?}$ *d/r[*

Translation

"Deed of the field of Titî from (the town/country) d/r ..."

Notes. Line 2 is difficult: *zy* at the beginning is agreed upon by all authors, while only Vattioni, 498, interprets signs III-IV as *tt*. The remainder is highly conjectural: *CIS* reads *zbn*, "bought" which is, however, unattested elsewhere in our corpus, moreover presenting a questionable bet. The following nun, on the other hand, is rather similar to the one in *dnt* of l. 1. The complex *mn* + toponym has parallels in our texts: cf. nos. 3,6,9,38. Notice, on the other hand, that *zy* + toponym - as a reflex of Ass. *ša* - is present in nos. 23, 59.

11. *Rm.* 188.

CIS II/1, 35 = *EA* 31 = *Ep. Ar.* 31 = *Lieberman* 11.

Aramaic

Bottom/central fragment of tablet, with 7 lines (Delaporte: "cinq lignes") of alphabetic script (6 on face, 1 on B.E.). Date: ca. 670 B.C., according to Lieberman, on paleographic grounds. Copy: fig. 11.

Transliteration

Face: 1'. [x] *'rq* [x x x x]

2'. [x] *hb'. ln?/m?* [x x x]

3'. [ ] *šhd. mrd?g'*

4'. [x] ⌜x⌝ *'ṣl*[*y?*]*. m*[

5'. [ ] *w?* *m?*[

6'. *w? y?* [x] *.q?ll?*

B.E. 1. *mt*[

Notes. As may be seen from the copy and the transliteration (where one whole line and a left-hand fragment are added to Delaporte's version) the broken tablet under examination, although subjected to repeated collation, is not easy to define precisely as to its nature and contents. Insofar as an attempt may be made, however, I believe it to represent the Reverse of a legal document, bearing the list of witnesses of a transaction, perhaps concerning "land" (cf. *'rq*[in line 1'). Line 2' is difficult: might we be dealing with the *limmu*-date in its last visible part? In line 3', after a ruling, the list of witnesses might have begun with the usual formula *šhd;* but the remainder of the line is problematical, although my readings are in full agreement with Lieberman's (cf. *BASOR* 192, 26, Fig. 1, graphs marked "11"), whereas Delaporte's and Vattioni's *nrḥ* is unjustifiable. In the next line, an alphabetic rendering of the Assyrian predicative element *-uṣalli* is a possibility. At the close of the text, there might have been a further personal name, formed by the element *-qll* (and the possible

waw at the beginning of line 6' would act as a confirmation of the hypothesis of a witness list). The conclusive *mt*[(B.E. 1) could be understood as the beginning of a geographical indication, as in no. 16, below; or it could represent an Aramaic personal name, built from the root **mtᶜ* (cf. nos. 30, 38, 54).

12. *D.T.* 88.

Lieberman 12 = A.R. Millard, *Iraq* 41 (1983), 107-108, fig. 1.

Aramaic

Central fragment of a tablet. Remnants of three lines, and a string impression on the back (Millard: "thus the piece could come from a large docket, or sealing"). Date: 670 B.C. approx., according to Lieberman, on paleographic grounds. Copy: fig. 12.

Transliteration

1.]x *bᶜn* x[
2.]*š w q y*[
3.]x[

Notes. Unintelligible. Are we to deal with a list of names, or a deed of sorts, perhaps relevant to property located "on the roads of ..."? Cf. *DISO*, 317, 318, for the term *šq*, *šwq*. Notice, however, that A.R. Millard reads as follows: 1.]x *rᶜny*[/ 2.]*šwrᶜ*[/

3.]x[.

13. 81-2-4, 148.

CIS II/1, 43 = *EA* 26 = *Ep. Ar.* 26 = *Lieberman* 13.

Aramaic

Triangular-shaped docket, inscribed on Obverse, Reverse, and R.H.E. 14 lines. Pledge of a person (?) against silver. Date: ca. 670 B.C. (Lieberman, on paleographic grounds). Copy: fig. 13.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. [*ḥ*]*nnyᵐ/wᵐ w ʾmᶜzr*
2. *rḥmw lʾᵐ/šᵐrḥm*
3. *lš*[ʾ] *nᵐgᵐh bksp*
4. *šqln* 7
5. *bywmy* 30!?
6. *kspʾ*

Rev. 1. [()]*yᵐ*x[x x(?)]x x x x
2. *šᵐ*[*hdn*] *ᶜzᵐ wḥ*⌜*q*⌝*by*
3. *wns* ⌜*ḥ*⌝[ᶜ?]*my*
4. *wnšk ly*
5. *wʾbzᵐqy*
6. *wmwdd*

R.H.E. 1. *wᶜzrn-*
2. *ʾl*

Translation

"[Ḥ]NNYM/W and 'M^{c}ZR pledged 'M/ŠRḤM to Š['ʾ]NGH for 6 shekels of silver. Within 30 (?) days (?), the silver ..... W[itnesses (?)]: ^{c}Z$^{?}$ and ḤQBY, NSḤ[^{c}]MY, NŠKLY, 'BZ$^{?}$QY, MWDD, ^{c}ZRN'L".

Notes. This version presents a few variations on *CIS*, *EA*, and *Ep. Ar.*, although the basic doubts expressed in the previous editions remain, due to the shallow and "thin" writing of the graphs on the half-dried clay - thus requiring a full discussion. In line 1, *CIS* and Delaporte's *mmny* is to be ruled out: mem is not visible, and one more graph precedes the conjunction *w*, but [Ḥ]NNYM is hardly free from doubts (the last graph could be a further waw).

In line 2, the verbal form *rhrw* may be accepted, also in view of an unpublished parallel[37] relevant to a loan of silver "avec constitution d'une sûreté immobilière"[38]. The remainder of the line is relatively clear as *l'$^{?}$m$^{?}$/š$^{?}$rḥm* - with the last three letters providing a well-attested West Semitic root **rḥm* (cf. e. g. Zadok, *WSB*, 124), and thus making it reasonably possible that a personal name was present here, either **'em-raḥīm* or **'iššša(r)-raḥīm*. The main problem of this line (with implications for the following one) is grammatical in nature: whether to consider the lamed after the verb as a *nota accusativi*, differently from the lamed at the

37. *O.* 3717, described by E. Lipiński, *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974), 382, as bearing the noun *rahan*: cf. section F, no. h, below. The verb *RHN might also be restored in *KAI* 227, of 571 B.C.: cf. *KAI* II, 277-278 for discussion, also with reference to our corpus.

38. Ibid.

beginning of line 3 (*l. commodi*), as supposed by Delaporte (cf. also *DISO*, 275), or, instead, to view them both as *l. commodi*. In the first case, the object of the pledge would be represented by 'M/ŠRḤM him/herself; in the second case, the two personal names following the verb *rhn* would indicate the recipients of a pledge, consisting in an object not named in the Obverse of the text itself - perhaps a quantity of corn, to which the document was physically attached. I personally consider the latter solution unlikely: but it should be brought forth as a possibility, in the light of the lack of further attestations of **rhn + l* as *nota accusativi* in Old, Mesopotamian, or Imperial Aramaic, to my knowledge.

In line 3, the name of the person providing the loan for which the antichresis is required is hardly *šndlh* (Delaporte); in view of the sign shapes, it is more likely *š[']ngh* or *š[n]ngh* - in both cases, a name formed from the root **ngh*, "to shine", etc., as the third one in no. 58, below[39].

In Obv. 5, and down to Rev. 1, we quite probably have to deal with the redemption clause attached to the antichresis, well known in contemporary Neo-Assyrian deeds: cf. e.g. *FNALD*, 49, *ina ūme ša kaspu iddanūni urassu ušēṣa*, "when he gives back the sum he shall 'bring out' his slave"[40]. Correspondingly, the traditional interpretation of Obv. 5 has *bywm y^{c}l*, i.e. it envisages the use of the verb **^{c}ll* in the Haphel with *ksp'* as object, "when he will

39. In both these texts, the interpretation of the form should be **-nugh(ī)*, according to R. Zadok (personal communication).

40. J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 49.

bring the silver back ..."[41]. However, the veritable "ligature" between the presumed two last graphemes of line 5 should be noticed - not so much as a feature of paleographic interest, but especially because it gives rise to the possibility for a totally alternative reading of the line, with the final complex as a single number-grapheme. The number could, in this light, be "30", due to the three 'heads' of the sign, and the entire line could be reviewed as *bywmy 30*, "within 30 days" - a formula possibly alternative to the one with the name of the current month of nos. 49,50,51,54. With *ksp'* still maintaining its function as object of the clause, the clause itself would rest upon a verb in the plural (referring to the two pledgers of Obv. 1), which cannot be determined, however; the whole of Rev. 1 being, in my opinion, too faded for interpretation (Delaporte: *zypṭ 'y hql'*).

The personal names after *š*[*hdn*] in Rev. 2 are equally problematical: was there only one name or two? In Rev. 3, my reading yielded a further attestation of the divine name *nsḥ* = cuneiform *Na-šuḫ/ Na-áš-ḫu*[42] against a previously accepted (but hardly plausible) *ns*^{c}. In the following line. NŠKLY is an Assyrian name, discussed in its essential in Part One, pp. 53-54, above. The next name might be read 'B/DZQY or (perhaps better) 'B/DYQY (cf. Zadok, *WSB*, 88-89, for this predicative element). The name MWDD and its cuneiform counterparts (*Mu-da-da*, *Mu-da-di*) have been treated

41. Cf. *DISO*, 212. Notice, however, that the recipients of the silver should be the *two* individuals named in line 1 -which makes for a concrete difficulty as regards the recontruction of a verbal form *y*^{c}*l*.

42. For this equation, cf. Fales, *ACF* 13/3 (1974), 188, and cf. Part One, p. 72.

elsewhere[43]. Finally, ^{c}ZRN'L has a precise parallel in no. 58, below[44].

14. 83-1-18, 338.

ADD 257 = *ARU* 66.

ABC 5 = *EA* 15 = *Ep. Ar.* 15 = *Lieberman* 14.

Assyrian

Conveyance text. Sale of a slave woman and her daughter. Collations: S. Parpola, *Assur* 2, 147-148. The name of the seller appears in Obv. 1 (^{I}[$^{\cdot d}$P]A.[EN.PAP]) and 5 (^{I}[$^{\cdot d}$PA].ʿENʾ[.PAP]): in view of the above, the reading as Nabû-bēl-uṣur suggested by Johns, *ADD* (and questioned by Ungnad, *ARU*) may be accepted, although with reservation. As for the woman sold, *ARU* has ^{SAL}*Mar-qi-ḫi-ta* (?), recently doubted by Parpola (cit., p. 147: "looks like ^{MÍ}ʿ*mar*ʾ-[*ṭ*]*a!-ḫi-*ʿ*ia!*ʾ ... despite Aram. *mrqḥt'*"); my further collation, however (cf. fig. 14) tallies with Ungnad's, ^{SAL}*Mar-*ʿ*qi*ʾ*-ḫi-*ʿ*ia*$^{?}$*/ta*$^{?}$ʾ. The daughter of the slave woman is not named, and was presumably only mentioned as such in the lost end of Obv. 2 (which may be restored GEMÉ[*-šú* DUMU.SAL*-sa*]). Her existence may however be surmised from the general total of "2, of servile personnel", given in Obv. 3; a male kin would have received the explicit and

43. F.M. Fales, *Orientis Antiqui Collectio* XIII [1978], 215.

44. Cf. P. Bordreuil, *Semitica*, 23 (1970), 97[11] for an overview of this and other attestations.

full quotation of his name[45]. The price paid is two minas of silver by the Karkemish standard[46]. Date: 671/666 B.C. Partial copy: fig. 14.

Aramaic

Three lines of alphabetic script, for a total of 15 visible graphs. The first line is on the Rev., before the dividing line marking the section of the witnesses: this is due to the fact that the contents of Rev. 8-9 (*kas-pu a-na* $10^{MEŠ}$ *a-na* $EN^{M}[^{EŠ}$-*šú* GUR]/ *ina de-ni-šú* KA.KA-*ma* ˹*la*˺ [*i-laq-qi*]) had been repeated in the two following horizontal spaces, but were then erased, and substituted by the Aramaic (cf. Part One, p.5). The other two lines are on the B.E. Copy: fig. 14.

Transliteration

Rev.: [*d*]*nt*. *mrqḥt'*

B.E.: *brt*[*h*

dndb[

45. Cf. Fales, *CCENA*, 3-4, for the relevant scribal practices.

46. Cf. recently N. Parise, *Mina di Uġarit, mina di Karkemish, mina di Khatti*, *DdA* 3 (1981), 155-160, on this standard in the second millenium -but possibly with implications for the reconstruction of its value in the following age.

Translation

"Deed of Marqiḥita' (and) [her] daughter, ... (cf. *Notes*, below)".

Notes. The name *mrqḥt'/Mar-qi-ḫi-ta* is understood as meaning "Perfumer" by Tallqvist, *APN*, 135a; this etymology is taken up by Zadok, *WSB*, 140, who adds: "On the other hand, it may be derived from Arab. *'arqaḥa*, 'to administer, manage'". In my opinion, *mrqḥt'* should be nothing else but the Aramaic counterpart to Bibl. Hebrew *merqāḥā*, "ointment vase", or to *mirqaḥat*, "spice mixture" or "spiced wine"[47].

In the second line, previously read *br*[and not interpreted or misunderstood[48], we obviously have to deal with a reference to the other person sold, the daughter of *mrqḥt'*. The traces of the third sign, in fact, justify interpretation as *t*: hence, one may further assume a pron. suffix of the 3rd person feminine singular, *-h*, in the break. Noticeable is the fact that *brt* has many attestations in Egyptian Aramaic, but hardly at all in pre-Achaemenid (and esp. Mesopotamian) Aramaic[49].

The third line is undoubtedly problematical (previous readings: *dndr*[, with no translation). One solution for it would be, to envisage the name of the seller, Nabû-bēlu-uṣur, in graphs

47. Cf. *HALAT*, 603a, and Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 847b (concerning Middle Aramaic *merqaḥtā*, "a spiced dish").

48. Cf. e.g. Vattioni, 497, "figlio".

49. Cf. *DISO*, 42; and see the seal of *'ḥt brt nṣry* (N. Avigad, *IEJ* 8 [1958], 228-230), dated by Naveh, *Script*, 13, to the 8th century.

II-IV (i.e. with a reading *nb'b'[lṣr* for such graphs). However, it is a fact that signs III and IV are not immediately evident as two *bet*s: IV has a slight loop (cf. the *b* in l. 2), but III does not, i.e. it looks more like a dalet -as previously read-, although the presence of a cuneiform sign immediately adjacent to it might have to be taken into account. In any case, this solution would leave us with an initial dalet (=graph I) which could only be explained as a nota genitivi /di:/, "of" -in an alphabetic rendering which predates amply the well-known Aramaic z > d graphemic shift[50], and is in clear contrast with the *zy* attested in all other Aramaic epigraphs on clay tablets of Neo-Assyrian date. Although some slight evidence of /di:/ in Neo-Assyrian times might be summoned from contemporary cuneiform renderings[51], there is actually no sufficient basis for suggesting its presence here, as *d*: and consequently, to make out the following graphs as relevant to the name of Nabû-bēlu-uṣur. I thus fall back on *dndb*[?]; and I venture to suggest that a juridical formula, concerning the exclusion of further lawsuits, was here noted, as a loan from the Assyrian *dēnu dabābu laššu*, "there is no (further) legal case and litigation" (cf. Postgate, *FNALD*, 17-18). This formula, as *dn/dyn/zyn wdbb*, is

50. Cf. e.g. F. Pennacchietti, *Studi sui pronomi determinativi semitici*, Napoli 1968, 11 ff.

51. Cf. the topographical indication GABA.DI, surmised to represent Aramaic *gb dy*, "the side of ..." in my *CCENA*, 62, and accepted by Postgate, *FNALD*, 23. On the other hand, the LÚ*di mil-ki* of *ABL* 1257: 11, commented upon in *CCENA*, 23, is now to be read as a personal name, I!*Ab'-di-mil-ki*, according to S. Parpola, *ZA* 64 (1974), 114, and should consequently be also deleted in E. Lipiński, *OLA* 6, 579[66].

attested in Egyptian Aramaic[52], but is not hitherto known for Mesopotamian Aramaic or Official Aramaic of the Neo- and Late Babylonian periods. In these terms, were the above hypothesis acceptable, a reading and integration as *dn db*[?]*[b lyš/t*, "[There is no further] legal case and litig[ation]" could be suggested.

15. *Sm.* 957.

ADD 128 = *ARU* 322.

CIS II/1, 42 = *ABC* 6 = *EA* 25 = *Ep. Ar.* 25 = *Lieberman* 15.

Assyrian

Triangular corn-loan docket, inscribed on "long" axis, complete.

Date: 17/VIII/665 B.C. Copy: fig. 15.

Transliteration

Face: 1. 30 ANŠE ŠE.PAD^{MEŠ}

2. *ina* + GIŠ.BÁN *šá* 10 *qa*

3. *šá* $^{I.d}$PA.BÀD

4. *ina* IGI $^{I.ITI}$AB-*a-a*

two stamp seal impressions

5. ^{LÚ}GIŠ.GIGIR DUMU ^{I}AD-*ul*-ZU

6. **TA ^{URU}Ma-ga-ni-ṣi*

52. Cf. *DISO*, 56-57, Y. Muffs, *Studies*, 227a, with references.

7. *ša* $\check{S}U^{2}$ *Un-za-ar-ḫi*-15
8. ^{LÚ}GAL *ki-ṣir*
9. *ina* ^{ITI}APIN ŠE.BAR
10. *ina* ^{URU}*Ma-ga-ni-ṣi*
11. SUM-*an* BE-*ma* NU SUM-*ni*
12. ŠE.BAR *ina mit-ḫar ina Ni-nu-u*
13. SUM-*an* ^{ITI}APIN UD 17 KAM
14. *lim+mu* ^{I}*Man-nu-ki*-MAN SAG MAN
15. IGI ^{I}*Ba-la-ṣi* GAL.É
16. IGI ^{I}IR-^{d}NIN.LÍL 3-*šú*
17. IGI $^{I.d}$PA.SUM.PAP^{MEŠ}
18. IGI ^{I}*Šá*-^{d}PA-*šu-u*

U.E. 1. IGI $^{I.d+}$AK.PAP.AŠ

bulge for knots in the clay

2. IGI ^{I}PAP.BÀD
3. IGI ^{I}*Ak-bar*

Translation

"30 *emārus* of barley, (calculated) by the *sutu* of 10 *qā*, belonging to Nabû-dūrī, debited to Kanunayya, charioteer, son of Abi-ul-uda, from the town Maganiṣi, who is under the control of Unzarḫi-Ištar, chief of a military unit. Within the month Araḫsamna, he shall give the barley back in the town of Maganiṣi; if he fails to give back the barley, he shall give it back at 100% in Nineveh. Month of Araḫsamna, 17th day". Date and witnesses.

Aramaic

Three units of writing, for a total of 19 signs. Unit. no. 1 is on the U.E., directly beneath the name of the last witness. Unit no. 2 is still on the U.E., but placed at 45 degrees to the preceding one: its signs are on two "lines". The third unit is in fact a whole line of writing, competing for space with the seal impressions, and incised upside-down with regards to the cuneiform text. Copy: fig. 15.

Transliteration

1. *m*$^{?}$*qšrn (// 30*$^{!}$ *qšrn)*
2. *š*^{c}*r // y'*
3. *zy* ^{c}*l n*$^{!?}$*bdry*

Translation

"Attached (?) : the barley belonging to (*sic*! text: "which is debited against") Nabû-dūrī".

Notes. The main point of interest in this epigraph lies in l. 1. Both *CIS* and *EA* present the view that five signs are attested here; whereas Stevenson saw only four signs, as did Ungnad[53]. The first sign was believed to be mem by both *CIS* and Delaporte; as for the interpretation regarding *mqšrn* or simply *qšrn*, both *CIS* and Stevenson suggested a nominal formation from the root **qšr*,

53. *ARU*, p. 209.

attested in Biblical Hebrew[54] with the meaning "to join, to knot, to tie", and translated the word viewing it in inverse order, and thus in conjunction, with the following *š^{c}ry'*, resp. as "*hordea colligata*" and "the bond of interest"[55].

At a close examination of the tablet, in fact, line 1 clearly reveals five graphs: although the first sign may be considered a mem only with some difficulty, since it shows three similar oblique traits, set a slightly greater distance from the following qof than the latter is from subsequent letters, and a detached "tail" -the very connection of which with the rest is open to doubt. However as it may be, two solutions for reading and interpretation of the entire line are possible: (a) if the initial letter is in fact a mem, to consider a single word, *mqšrn* (cf. below); (b) alternatively, to envisage the first graph as a numerical indication, which, by comparison with the quantity of barley noted in the Assyrian deed (30 *emārus*), and also due to its particular three-spike shape[56], may be taken as representing "thirty" - with only *qšrn* following it.

In both cases, at all events, we would be left (in agreement with previous comments) with nominal formations from the root **qšr*, "to join, to knot, to tie": but these formations should be viewed as masculine plurals in the absolute state in initial position of the epigraph, i.e. as asyndetically related to the following *š^{c}ry'*

54. As well as in Middle Aramaic and Hebrew: cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1345a, 1370a-b, 1432-1433.

55. Cf. *DISO*, 268, for criticism of these interpretations.

56. Cf. the somewhat similar shape of the sign(s) in no. 13, above, Obv. 5, and see ibid., commentary, and fn. 41, above.

- thus forming a phraseology similar to that of *š^{c}rn snh* in nos. 3 ff. (cf. Part One, p. 89). In the case of *mqšrn*, we would have to deal with a participle of the redoubled stem[57]; in that of *qšrn*, a simple stem passive participle. For both possibilities, a translation as "joined, attached" might be suggested: i.e., aside from the possible presence of an initial "30 (*emārus*)", the forms would in both cases be considered in concordance with *š^{c}ry'*, "barley", and would refer to the physical attachment of the triangular corn loan docket on which the Assyrian-Aramaic text is inscribed to a container (jar, or sack) holding the 30 *emārus* of barley subjected to loan (cf. Part One, 1.3, on this matter)[58].

57. Cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1432b, for the piel passive participle *m^{e}qušša*r, which, in combination with *geṭ*, is used in rabbinical commentaries to Jer. 32:11 ff. (cf. Part One, fn. 30) as "folded document" to be identified with the "sealed" document of the Biblical text (*'t hḥtwm zh hmqšr*; cf. further Muffs, *Studies*, 191[4], with bibliography). Apart from the specific meaning of the rabbinical sources, the connection of the term with the Biblical indication for a "sealed" text is of interest in the light of the discussion on the function of triangular corn loan dockets in Part One, 1.3, above.

58. A third -but less probable- possibility for interpretation is that of *qšrn* as an actual noun in the general sense of "bundles" (< "to bind") i.e. as a semantic parallel of sorts to the Assyrian term *emāru*, "homer" in the cuneiform deed (for which cf. *CAD* I/J, 110ff.), preceded by the numeral "thirty". Granted that no attestation of a similar meaning exists in Aramaic, it is a fact that in Neo-Assyrian times "sometimes the normal systems of measurement by volume (or weight) gave place to a unit more suited to the particular commodity" (Postgate, *FNALD*, 69) and that one such unit, the *maqarratu*, "bale, roll (of straw)" now occurs on an Aramaic document from Brussels: cf. Part One, p. 28, and below, F, text c.

In line 3, incised within the cuneiform part itself, as already noted by Delaporte[59], the ^{c}l is made to precede the name of the individual mentioned in the cuneiform deed as creditor, and not that of the debtor, as in all other cases (cf. Part One, 2.3.e, pp. 84-86). Granted that ^{c}l can also mean "for, in favour of, etc." (cf. *DISO*, 209, ad 6), I surmise, on the other hand, that a scribal mistake was involved here, caused by the original intention to write down the names of both parties to the deed (through the formula "*zy* CREDITOR ^{c}l DEBTOR"), but with the omission of the second onomastic element and the misplacing of the first. In any case, Delaporte's "...qui (sont) de Nabû-dūri", although imperfect, must be preferred to other previous interpretations[60].

16. 80-7-19, 348; 83-1-18, 350; 83-1-18, 387.

ADD 429 = *ARU* 105.

CIS II/1, 31 = *ABC* 18 = *EA* 30 = *Ep. Ar.* 30 = *Lieberman* 30.

Assyrian

Very broken conveyance text, formed by three non-joining, yet partially coinciding fragments, which in any case leave all lines of the document with initial and/or final mutilations. As recently

59. *EA*, p. 44.

60. Cf. Ungnad, "... zu Lasten des Nabu-duri", and Vattioni, "che è contro Nabu-duri".

collated by S. Parpola (*Assur* 2, 176), the deed is constituted by a sale of landed estates (Obv. 2: A.ŠÀ.GA) and watered fields (Obv. 3: É *šiʾ-q[iʾ]*)[61], also possibly persons (mentioned further on in the text) to Rēmanni-Adad, the "first equerry" of Assurbanipal[62], on the part of *two* individuals - for discussion on which, cf. *Notes*, below. The obverse of the text and part of the reverse were occupied by detailed localizations of the properties, although the wider geographical context of these is lost (cf. Aramaic, below); then follow the penalty-formulae and the witness list. The date is also lost, but may be fixed approx. between 668 and 660 B.C., on the basis of the reconstruction of the name of the buyer in Rev. 2-3[63]. A totally different date (=ca. 623) was provided by Lieberman on paleographical grounds as regards the Aramaic[64].

Aramaic

Inscription on two lines, and on two different fragments: 1 + 1 graphs are inscribed on 83-1-18, 387, and 12 + 9 graphs on 83-1-18, 350. Both named fragments form the R.H.E. of the tablet, on which the alphabetic inscription runs from top to bottom, from approx. half the extension to its end; the right-hand side ("top")

61. For *bīt šiqe/i* as a plot of land watered by a ditch or canal, cf. J.N. Postgate, *GPA*, 99; *AHw.*, 1248-b.

62. Cf. G. van Driel, *BiOr* 27 (1970), 170a; F.M. Fales, *CCENA*, 102, for this individual; and J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *NWL*, 52, for the title.

63. Cf. *APN*, 187a-b; see further, S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 453-454, for a series of dated contracts of Rēmanni-Adad.

64. See Part One, 3.3. above.

of this margin is also occupied by a stamp seal, which continues the series of seals placed between Obv. 3 and 4 of the adjacent cuneiform text. Copy: fig. 16.

Transliteration

1. ˹*d*˺[*nt by*]˹*t*˺ *wḫ*˹*q*˺*ly ḫk*$^{!}$*nb*$^{!}$ *zy*
2. *n* [x x x x] *d bmt r*$^{!}$*bšqn*

Translation

"De[ed of the esta]te and the fields of Aḫu-kēn-abū'a of (the town) n[...]d in the province of the Chief Cupbearer(s)".

Notes. Delaporte's version runs " ... et champs de Hafhed que ... dans le pays de Babšuqin(?)", with reference to onomastic and toponomastic elements that seem to require improvements in reading and interpretation. In any case, an integration may be effected right at the beginning of the epigraph: in line 1, the available space in the break, plus the two traces of signs resp. to the right and left of it justify, in my opinion, the suggestion to read an initial "label" ˹*d*˺[*nt*, followed by what must have been the first element of the property sold, possibly *by*]*t* - and, if so, in the sense of "estate", in some correspondence with the A.ŠÀ.GA attested in the "seal identification" section of the cuneiform deed[65].

65. Further on in the text (cf. *ARU*, no. 105, passim; Parpola, *Assur* 2, 176) the indication of the single plots are given as usual in this category of documents, i.e. É n ANŠE A.ŠÀ.GA, "a landed estate of n *emārus*", with the use of É = *bītu* which is initially absent.

For the rest of the line, after the clear *ḫqly*, one may proceed from Delaporte's notation that "*ḫpnd* est probablement un nom propre, celui du vendeur ou de la propriété vendue"[66]. Now, from the collation by S. Parpola, it would seem that the "seal identification" section of the Assyrian deed bore two names of sellers: (Obv.1-2:)[N]A$_4$.˹KIŠIB˺[^{I}x x x] ^{I}GIN.AD$^{!}$-*u-a* A-*šú* / [PA]P$^{!}$ 2$^{!}$ LÚ-x[x x x] -*a-a* EN A.ŠÀ.GA[67]. However, it may be noticed that the norm in Neo-Assyrian legal texts, when more than one owner is attested in his full capacity as such, would be to repeat the notation "seal of PN" before each name[68] -a feature which cannot have been present here, due to the scarce available space in line 1. Consequently, it may be asked whether this line should be understood - viewing two "Mr." signs - as bearing "Seal of [^{I}...](and) ^{I}GIN.AD-*u-a*, his son", or not rather as "Seal of [^{I} ...]x-GIN.AD-*u-a* (and) his son" - i.e. as a situation in which the seal of the father guaranteed the validity of the deed both for himself and for his unnamed (and perhaps still "minor") son.

This alternative reconstruction of the line (not too different from that of C.H.W. Johns, the first editor of the text) would thus leave us with only one personal name as representing the former owners of the estate: and at this point, given in fact a relatively

66. *EA*, 47.

67. Notice, in l. 10 of the Reverse (cf. Parpola, cit., for the collated text) the presence of DUMU^{MEŠ}-*šu-nu*, "their sons", which may act as confirmation for the existence of more than one person as selling party.

68. Cf. J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 12-13.

small break before the signs GIN.AD-*u-a*, we may well ask ourselves whether an initial divine or theophorous element should not be supposed here, making the entire name into [DN/Theoph.N.]-GIN.AD-*u-a* = *...-kēn-abū'a* = "...is my true begetter".

The Aramaic text would seem to support this view. Proceeding from the fact that the presumed *"ḥpnd"* can represent no other entity than a personal name - for morphological and lexical reasons- it becomes relatively plausible to envisage Delaporte's pe as a kaf, lacking a clearly visible (or clearly traced) upward stroke - not too differently from the case of *ksp'* in no. 28, below, q.v. The vagaries of writing as concerns bet in relation to dalet and resh have been well treated by Lieberman[69]: thus we would have *ḥk!nb!*. As for the initial ḥeth, I would suppose a theophorous element Ahu (normally = *'ḥ*, but in this case presenting an aphaeresis of the initial aleph[70]) as constituting the broken part of the name in the cuneiform text: [Aḫu]-kēn-abū'a, "The (dead) brother is my true begetter", a typical Neo-Assyrian Ersatzname.

In line 2, the initial *n*[x x x]*d* might represent a geographical indication, relevant to the localization of the plots of land which were sold. However, the available space seems slightly too long for one toponym: perhaps the noun *ngw*, as loanword from Akk. *nagiu*, "district"[71] preceded an actual place-name. At the end of the line, *mt r!bšqn* would appear to be a partial adaptation to Aramaic of the name of the province/country

69. *BASOR* 192, 28-29.

70. Cf. Part One, 2.3.a, for the notation of aleph in Assyrian onomastics within the present corpus.

71. For this noun, cf. *DISO*, 174; Kaufman, *Influences*, 75.

of the Chief Cupbearer, known from Neo-Assyrian sources[72], and recently localized to the east of Šabirešu[73]. A "provincial" localization, in any case, tallies well with the reconstruction of the figure of the buyer as the well-known "equerry" of Assurbanipal, Rēmanni-Adad, since this individual owned land in various parts of the empire, following a common economic model for large landowners in the 7th century B.C.

17. *K.* 281.

ADD 233 = *ARU* 208.

CIS II/1, 19 = *ABC* 7 = *EA* 12 = *Ep.Ar.* 12 = *Lieberman* 16.

Assyrian

Conveyance text: sale of a slave woman and her daughter (Obv. 5-6). The tablet is almost complete, save for the fragmentary upper right-hand edge, bearing the name of the sellers (probably two individuals, the second of whom is described as DUMU ^{I}*Ḫa-zi*[, "son of Ḫazi-... in l. 3: cf. S. Parpola, *Assur* 2, 142, for collations). The woman sold is named ^{SAL}*Ḫa-am-bu-su*; the buyer is named ^{I}*Lu-q*[*u* (Obv. 7); the price is 1 mina, 8 shekels of silver (Obv. 9). The formulae, the list of witnesses and the date (II/659 B.C.) conclude the text.

72. Cf. S. Parpola, *NAT*, 289, s.v. Rab-šaqê.

73. Kessler, *Topographie*, 159-176, and esp. 173 ff. For the final *-n* in *rbšqn*, cf. Part One, p. 67.

Aramaic

The alphabetic inscription runs "clockwise" around the cuneiform text: 21 graphs on the L.H.E. from bottom to top on two "lines" (16 + 5), 5 [+ n] on the fragmentary U.E., [n +]13 on the almost complete R.H.E. from top to bottom (only 2-3 signs lost)[74]. Copy and outline of tablet: fig. 17.

Transliteration

L.H.E.: 1. *dnt 'mt' ḥbš zy lqḥ ⌜b⌝*

2. *w?b?r?⌜t?⌝h?*

U.E. : *ḥt? mn⌜h?⌝ 5 [+3 šqln ksp'(?)]*

R.H.E.: *[mn(?)] ⌜'?⌝ḥwh b?nwh? 'ḥz 'm?t?<'?>*

Translation

"Deed of the slave-woman Ḥabbūš - and her daughter(?) - belonging to LQḤ. For one mina (?), ei[ght shekels of silver(?)] he purchased the slave-woman(?) from her brothers and sons".

Notes. The graphs were scratched onto the margins when the clay was almost dry: hence the generally shallow appearance of this inscription, and the many uncertain sign-shapes, especially as regards its last part. In any case, if the solutions brought forth in the transliteration above, and discussed below, may be considered acceptable, one must consider to be dealing with the most extended and lexically interesting Aramaic epigraph on a conveyance text within the present collection.

74. Delaporte's description (*EA*, 33) is erroneous and misleading: "L'araméen comporte deux lignes gravées sur le bord inférieur de la tablette, et une troisième ligne sur le bord supérieur".

The first line of the L.H.E. presents few problems. After *lqḥ*, a further letter is visible, which I take to represent the particle *b* (in previous editions, this particle is -unexplicably- considered to be placed at the beginning of the U.E.). The name *Ḫa-am-bu-su* = *ḥbš* has been analyzed as a *quttūl* formation with dissimilation, from **ḥbš*, "to tie, to connect"[75]. As regards *Lu-q[u = lqḥ*, a number of cuneiform variants of the name must be considered, e.g. *Lu-u-qu*[76] and *Lu-qu-*'[77] apart from numerous parallels[78], toward a reconstruction as a West Semitic nominal pattern of the *qutl* or *quttul* type[79]. The second "line" of the L.H.E. is extremely difficult to read: the transliteration and interpretation given above are hypothetical[80] and are based on the presence of the "daughter" in the Neo-Assyrian deed, as well as on the quaint placing of the signs, just beneath *'mt' ḥbš* -as if added by afterthought- and also on the sign shapes.

75. R. Zadok, *WSB*, 135. Other examples of the same formation from Neo-Assyrian texts are, e.g. ^{I}*Ḫa-am-bu-su*, *PSBA* 30, 137:2; *CCENA* 13:I, 8; ^{SAL}*Ḫa-na-bu-ša-a*, VS I, 95:5.

76. *ADD* 4:2; 678:3.

77. *KAV* 198:8.

78. Cf. *APN*, 122b. As for the Aramaic, it must be noted that the often quoted *lqḥ* in no. 46, below, is not a personal name but a verbal form.

79. Cf. Zadok, *WSB*, 117, 132-133.

80. See *CIS* II/1, Tab. II for a slightly different attempt.

In the U.E., the first sign may be taken as a ḥeth slanted toward the right, similarly to sign IX of the R.H.E. (while the ḥeth in *lqḥ* is straighter, and the one in *ḥbš* has a left-hand slant, similarly to R.H.E., sign II)[81]. The next graph could be taw: and the resulting *ḥt*, followed by *mn* ⌜*h*?⌝, would fit morphological requirements[82], but not lexical expectancies, since it represents the normal Canaanite form, Aramaic having *ḥdh* > *ḥdt*[83]. This is no minor difficulty, and it certainly casts some doubts on the possibility of reconstructing the context here: hypothetically, in any case, I would view the entire margin as taken up by the price paid for the women - perhaps with the use of a number-sign for "five" as in no. 5, above.

The R.H.E. has been, in my opinion, hitherto best examined by Peiser[84], who read [']*ḥz ymmt' 'ḥz* ⁝⁝*šw*, whereas Delaporte and Vattioni give virtually nothing before the second complex *ḥ + z*. In agreement with Peiser, there are thirteen visible signs plus a fragmentary one (perhaps two) at the beginning: and, not counting the latter, nos. I, V, VIII-XI are clearly to be interpreted following this author's readings (i.e. as *ḥ...n..'ḥz'..*). On the other hand, Peiser's overall interpretation does not yield good sense: while his attempt clearly aimed at connecting this line with parts of the witness list (where two individuals named *Ia-man-nu-u*

81. See Lieberman, *BASOR* 192, 26, for both left- and right-hand slants in the hets from Nineveh, nos. 27-34; and cf. plate XIII, below.

82. Most recently, cf. V. Brugnatelli, *Questioni di morfologia e sintassi dei numerali cardinali semitici*, Firenze 1982, passim.

83. Cf. *DISO*, 9, s.v. *'ḥd*, and see Part One, p. 80, above.

84. *KB* IV, 140.

and one called *A-su-u* are present), the meaning of the resulting clause is far from satisfactory.

In this light, I suggest to view signs VIII-X rather as the *qal* perfect of **'ḥz*, "he took" -after which the object should follow, quite likely *'m*?*t*?<?> (the last sign is decidedly not visible, if it was ever written). If so. **'ḥz* should here represent a loan-translation from Assyrian *laqā'u*, "to receive, to take by purchase"[85]. The preceding part is slightly harder in itself, but it has the advantage of a precise parallel with no.30, below, where a slave woman is sold by her "brothers" and "sons". And in fact, signs I-III may be made out as]*ḥwh*, a combination which can in turn only lead to ⌜*ḥwh*⌝, i.e. "brother(s)" followed by a pronominal suffix to be understood as 3rd pers. fem. sing.[86]. And at this point, Peiser's mem for sign IV may be presumed to have been in fact a bet, yielding *brwh*, "her sons"[87]. The missing part of the line could have held merely *mn*, "from". Thus the entire situation depicted in the epigraph would be clear, as that of a woman and her daughter being sold into slavery by the male kin, after the death of her husband (who was probably the ^{I}*Ḫa-zi*[attested in Obv.3 of the cuneiform text). Thanks to the clear parallel of the Assyrian text of no.30, below, in conclusion, this epigraph - despite the uncommon feature of being more explicit

85. Detailed study of this terminology is given by J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 12-17.

86. Cf. *DISO*, 8, for *'ḥwh*; and see Part One, 2.3.d ad (4), above, for the problem of a pronominal suffixation *-wh* with 3rd p. fem. value here.

87. Cf. *DISO*, 41, for this plural of *br*, "son". The problem of *-wh* is the same as for *'ḥwh*: cf. previous footnote.

than its companion document in cuneiform - now presents far less obscurity, whether grammatical, juridical, or otherwise.

18. 80-7-19, 52.

ADD 387 = *ARU* 34.

ABC 8 = *EA* 32 = *Ep. Ar.* 32 = *Lieberman* 17.

Assyrian

Fragmentary conveyance text: sale of 5 *emārus* of land, calculated by the *sūtu* of 8 *qā*, located in the village (URU].ŠE) of ^{I}ZALÁG.É (Obv. 4-6). The rest of the Obv., including the name of the buyer, is lost. The seller is one $^{\lceil I.d?}$PA$^{?}$.NUMUN$^{?\rceil}$ (tentative reading on the basis of collation of the signs by S. Parpola, *Assur* 2, 167), son of $^{I.d}$AMAR.UTU-*bul-liṭ* (Obv. 1-2). Date: 8/11/653 (eponymy of Aššur-ilā'ā).

Aramaic

On the L.H.E., from top to bottom, 8 graphs remaining before the connection with the U.E.. The latter is fragmentary: the possible continuation of the epigraph therein is lost. Copy: fig. 18.

[*dnt ḥql' zy nb(?)]zry zy k*$^{!}$*p+r*$^{!}$[

Translation

"[Deed of the field of Nabû(?)-]zērī of the village [of Nūr-

bītī(?)...]"

Notes. My reconstruction of this epigraph is obviously tentative; it is however at the same time the first attempt to obtain a sense of sorts from the Aramaic part of the text. The restoration at the beginning is based on the example of no. 10, above; as for]*zry*, it is not particularly plausible to view this complex as representing the end part of an Aramaic noun, while on the other hand the sign NUMUN (=*zēru/ī*) at the end of the name of the former owner in the cuneiform document is relatively probable, thus providing a correspondence between the versions. The signs following the *zy* are certainly difficult to make out, although they are clear: this is due, in my opinion, to the fact that after the kaf (also understood as such by Delaporte), not one but two badly written signs were present. These should be a pe, to which the right-hand side of the following resh clings too close; while the left-hand side of the latter is separated by a small interval. A reading *kpr* would in any case tally with the presence of URU.ŠE = *kapru*, "village" in the cuneiform deed[88]; and with the parallel provided by no. I of section F, below.

88. Cf. J.N. Postgate, *AfO* 24 (1975), 77, for the equivalence.

19. 83-1-18, 329.

ADD 533 = *ARU* 564.

CIS II/1, 29 = *ABC* 9 = *EA* 16 = *Ep.Ar.* 16 = *Lieberman* 18.

Assyrian

Conveyance text, very fragmentary. One line preserved on Obv., six on Rev., bearing witnesses' name and the date (12/VII/651). The nature of the sale cannot be determined; only the name of the seller, ^{I}*Sa-pi-ku*, is clear.

Aramaic

Two units of writing, the first on the U.E. immediately below the profession of the year-eponym (^{LÚ}*šá-kìn* ^{KUR}*Bar-ḫal-za*), and comprising 8 graphs, complete; the second, on the adjacent L.H.E. from top to bottom, fragmentary (3 graphs). Copy: fig. 19.

Transliteration

U.E.: *lnbwsmdn*

L.H.E.: *dnt* [.

Translation

"(Copy) for/Regarding Nabû-šum-iddin. Deed [of..."

Notes. All previous editors present and interpret the two lines in inverse order to the one given above. But in fact it may be noticed that *lnbwsmdn* follows immediately upon the last line of Assyrian, thus making it likely that it was the first part of the Aramaic

message to be written down. This feature apart, however, nothing is to be gained of the West Semitic text on what was seen by previous editors: for *nbwsmdn*, cf. Part One, 2.3.a, and the analysis by A.R. Millard, JSS 21 (1976), 4, ad 2.1.2. It is quite likely that this individual was the other party involved in the deed, as suggested by Stevenson and other commentators. It is also possible that this was *his* copy of the conveyance, not the one left to the seller, i.e. that in this particular case, in which *l* and *dnt* are coupled, the use of the preposition was different from that of nos. 20,22 (cf. Part One, 1.2) and implied possession.

20. 81-2-4, 152.

ADD 245 = *ARU* 81.

CIS II/1, 33 = *ABC* 20 = *EA* 5 = *Ep.Ar.* 5 = *Lieberman* 19.

Assyrian

Conveyance text: sale of three slave women (Obv. 3-4) by ^{I}*Mi-na-ḫi-mi* to ^{SAL}AD-*ra-ḫi-i*, sister of the *šakintu* (cf. no. 34 below) for 2 minas by the Karkemish standard. Collations: S. Parpola, *Assur* 2, 144-145. The tablet is fragmentary on top right; the date is lost on the corresponding position of Reverse (Lieberman: ca. 650 on paleographical grounds).

Aramaic

On left-hand edge, from bottom to top. Copy: fig. 20.

lmmḫm

Translation

"Regarding Minaḥim".

Notes. For the *l* in initial position, cf. Part One, 1.2. On the personal name, cf. most recently, Zadok, *Jews*, 29 and 109, fn. 89-91.

21. 82-5-22, 176.

ADD 25 = *ARU* 268.

CIS II/1, 30 = *ABC* 10 = *EA* 19 = *Ep.Ar.* 19 = *Lieberman* 20.

Assyrian

The tablet is the envelope of *ADD* 24 = *ARU* 267; similarly to the inner tablet, it is written on the long axis, in keeping with 7th century Assyrian custom for "contract type" texts[89]. The text concerns a loan of silver of one mina by the Karkemish standard made by ^{I}IM.4.I[90] to Zabinu at 25% interest. Date: 9/IV/646.

Aramaic

Two lines of writing, on the R.H.E. of the 'horizontal' tablet, in the space left by the overflow of some of the cuneiform signs. Copy: fig. 21.

89. Cf. J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 4-5; 32-33.

90. The reading -and even the linguistic affiliation- of the name are still uncertain: cf. *FNALD*, 130; Fales, *BSOAS* 40 (1980), 598, for different attempts.

Transliteration

1. *'grt ksp'*
2. *zy ᶜl zbn*

Translation

"Contract of the silver which is (debited) to the account of Zabīn".

Notes. For *'grt*, cf. Part One, 1.3, and footnote 22. The personal name *zbn* = Zabinu is quite probably a *qatīl* formation, corresponding to the Aramaic passive participle ("bought")[91].

22. *K.* 458.

ADD 476 = *ARU* 185.

ABC 24 = *EA* 29 = *Ep.Ar.* 29 = *Lieberman* 21.

Assyrian

Conveyance text, broken on top: only 6 lines of the Obv. are preserved. From the surviving formulae, it appears that ^{I}IM.4.I (cf. no. 21 for this name) was the seller of the unknown item dealt with (Obv. 6'), while one [^{I}] NUMUN-*tú*, i.e. Zērūtu (Obv. 4) was the buyer. Date lost (only month name: II), but attributed by Lieberman to ca. 646 (on prosopographical grounds?).

91. Cf. R. Zadok, *WSB*, 125, for parallel attestations in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-/Late-Babylonian.

Aramaic

On L.H.E. from top to bottom: three signs before the break on the side of the tablet. Copy and outline: fig. 22.

l'rn[?]*[*

Notes. The initial *l* would seem to represent the beginning of a formula such as the ones in nos. 18, 19, above: "Regarding...". The next two letters have been understood as *'n*[, both by Delaporte and by Lieberman; as such, there is no way to reconcile them with the names of the buyer (doubtful) and of the seller (of uncertain reading). As regards the latter individual, the possibility is open that this text and no. 21, above, were part of a single personal archive.

23. *Sm.* 921.

ADD 378 = *ARU* 429.

CIS II/1, 28 = *ABC* 22 = *EA* 11 = *Ep.Ar.* 11 = *Lieberman* 22.

Assyrian

Conveyance text, broken on the right-hand side. Sale of plots of land, 32 *emārus* in all, located in ^{URU}*Ḫa-me*[*-e'*(?); the seller is one Il-malaku (cf. also S. Parpola, *Assur* 2, 166, for collation of the name), while the buyer is named Mannu-ki-[. Month XII, year not preserved (Lieberman: ca. 646 on paleographical grounds).

Aramaic

On L.H.E., from bottom to top: 16 graphs, with a wide blank space after the last one. Copy: fig. 23.

dnt. 'lmlk. zy. 'rq. ḥm^{c}

Translation

"Deed of 'Il-malak, of the land of Ḥame^{c}".

Notes. For the name Il-malaku = *'lmlk*, cf. Zadok, *WSB*, 81. The following *zy* has been variously translated, in relation to the *'rq* after it: "concernant" (Delaporte; cf. also Muffs, *Studies*, 187, "concerning") or "über" (Ungnad), or "per" (Vattioni). In fact, however, it is much more probable that *zy* was here simply used in the meaning "from", as a loan-translation from Akk. *ša*, as stated in Part One, p.83, above - and see texts 18, F:II in the present collection (cf. the alternative use of *mn* in nos. 3,6,9,38). As for *'rq ḥm*^{c}, it obviously corresponds to the ^{URU}*Ḫa-me*[*-e'*(?) of the cuneiform text, as residence and seat of the landed property of Il-malaku -although, of course, due note must be taken of the consequent equation of Aramaic *'rq* and Assyrian *ālu*, "town, city (including its territory)"[92]. The place name seems to have no further attestation in Neo-Assyrian texts[93].

92. An equation which may be compared with the use of *'rq* in the 8th century bronze lion weights from Nimrud (cf. *CIS* II/1, 1-14; also, F. Vattioni, *Augustinianum* 11 [1971], 175-177 -although the translation of *'rq* as "campo" by this author is astonishing).

93. Cf. S. Parpola, *NAT*, 148; Y. Muffs' rendering (*Studies*, 187) as "Ḥama" is misleading.

24. *K.* 331.

ADD 250 = *ARU* 72.

CIS II/1, 18 = *ABC* 15 = *EA* 9 = *Ep.Ar.* 9 = *Lieberman* 23.

Assyrian

Conveyance text: sale of a slave and his mother. The name of the man is only preserved in its last part, *-a]z-zi*, while the mother's name was ^{SAL}*A-ḫa-ti-ṭa-bat* (Obv. 3). The seller is Ninuayyu, a relatively well-known palace official, while the buyer is Ḫudayyu: the same individuals occur in no. 25, below. Price, formulae, witnesses are only partially legible: the date is 18/X/642 B.C.

Aramaic

On L.H.E. from bottom to top: seven visible alphabetic graphs before the break. Copy: fig. 24.

[d]nt 'llḥz[y w 'mh(?)

Translation

"Deed of 'Il-laḥz[ī and his mother(?)"

Notes. Even for such a limited Aramaic epigraph it is impossible to rely fully on previous interpretations: for the name of the male slave is certainly not to be understood as "Ellil-ḫazzi", following Delaporte, but rather as formed of a divine element *'l* plus the

imperfect, 3rd pers. sing., of **ḥzy*, "to see", preceded by precative *l*. As I have noted elsewhere[94], this name is probably the same (with inversion of elements) as *La-aḫ-zi-il*[95]; in other words, the alphabetic attestation should allow us to restore the cuneiform one as [^{I}DINGIR-*la-ḫa/aḫ-a]z-zi* -thus, closest to the most ancient suggestion of the *CIS*, "El sit videns". The use of precative *l* is further attested for alphabetic personal names in *'dnlrm*, *KAI* 203 (=Hama 7 A 923: *'dn + l + *rīm*), and is not too infrequent in the cuneiform renderings of West Semitic onomastics in NA and N/LB[96].

After the name of the slave, we might suppose the presence of the notation "and his mother", or perhaps the transcription of the name of the latter: in any case, ^{SAL}*A-ḫa-ti-ṭa-bat* can be understood either as a West Semitic or as an Akkadian onomastic formation, of the nominal sentence, subject-predicate, type.

25. *Bu.* 91-5-9, 182.

ADD 249 = *ARU* 84.

ABC 21 = *EA* 33 = *Ep.Ar.* 33 = *Lieberman* 24.

Assyrian

Conveyance text: sale of two male slaves. The tablet is broken

94. In *Orientis Antiqui Collectio* XIII (1978), 222.

95. *NARGD* 27:15 (1st or 3rd person).

96. Cf. R. Zadok, *WSB*, 92-93. Outside of personal names, the relevant evidence has been noted and studied by S.A. Kaufman, *Influences*, 124-126; but a consistent increase of data is now provided by the bilingual statue of Tell Fekheriye (cf. *STF*, 58-60, with discussion).

on top, for the equivalent of 2-3 lines, and partly fragmentary in the center. The names of the slaves (Obv. 1') are $^{I.d}$ASARI.LÚ.ḪI-*ḫu-ut-nu* (= Marduk-ḫutnu)[97] and ^{I}*A-di-i*, his brother. The seller and the buyer are the same as in no. 24, above. The date is lost, but was obviously close to 642 B.C.

Aramaic

On L.H.E., from top to bottom: due to the break of the top of the tablet, the beginning of the epigraph is to be considered lost. Five signs, some of which faded, remain on the top line, after which a blank space leads to the end of the edge; traces of two signs on the bottom line. Copy: fig. 25.

Transliteration

1. [*dnt(?) mrd*]*k*$^{!?}$*ʿšny*
2. [*ʾ*] *ḥ*

Translation

"[Deed(?) of Mardu]k-^{c}uṯnī, [and] his brother$^{?}$".

Notes. Delaporte does not give the copy of this text, and does not present any transliteration of his own, limiting himself to the reference to previous attempts, by Stevenson (...*n*^{c}*šnk*/...^{c}) and by Johns, *ADD* III, 471-472 (...*mmbšny*/....*yd*)[98].

97. Cf. *APN*, 130b.

98. Vattioni (*Ep.Ar.*, 501) reproduces from Delaporte (with *s* instead of *š*!); Ungnad (*ARU*, p. 68) also failed to give a translation ("Die Urkunde trägt Spuren einer aramäischen Beischrift").

My reading of the top line is obviously of an extremely tentative nature (although the majority of the graphs are in agreement with one or the other attempt of previous authors): if it were to be considered acceptable, however, it would entail some considerations bearing on the meaning of the noun *ḫutnu*, as well as on related phonological problems. These considerations will be developed below.

As treated by the Akkadian dictionaries, *ḫutnu* is limited in its presence to the Neo-Assyrian period and to personal names[99]. The names are consistently two-element formations, i.e. with *ḫutnu* being joined to a theophorous subject-element; in other words, this noun never appears as component of a typically East Semitic, three-element, onomastic formation[100]. The translations of the noun, considered Akkadian but lacking a verbal root of reference, are tentative: "strength" or "help". R. Zadok, in his recent onomasiological study[101] treats *ḫutn-*, "(my) strength", in a non-committal fashion: while this element is ranged among the *qVt(V)l* predicative elements of West Semitic names written in NA and N/LB cuneiform, it is said to be Akkadian, although on the other hand it is "already recorded in a West-Semitic speaking region in the second millennium".

99. Cf. *CAD* H, 263b; the unpublished Assur sources quoted by *AHw.*, 362a might, or might not, apply to the same noun.

100. Cf. also *APN*, 286a, for an overview of the material: noteworthy in particular is the attestation *Se-e'-hu-ut-ni*, *ADD* 231: R. 10 -i.e. the conjunction with a divine element mainly associated with West Semitic predicates (cf. the sampler given in Fales, *CCENA*, 108, top chart).

101. R. Zadok, *WSB*, 101.

As said above, the present attestation might go some way in solving such ambiguities. If *-ḫutnu* of the Assyrian version and *-ʿšny* of the Aramaic one are to be equated, the resulting etymological element can only be a West Semitic one, presenting a voiceless interdental in second position, i.e. *ʿTN. This root has not been hitherto identified as such: but it might represent the unifying factor of such different and widespread West Semitic realizations as Amorite *ḪTN[102], *ʿTN in the Biblical names *ʿotnî* and *ʿotnî'el*[103], Arabic *ʿTN, "to be strong, heroic"[104], and *ʿSN, "to be strong, substantial" in Targumic literature[105]. If these realizations were all to be viewed as cognate to *ʿTN, a general meaning "to be strong" might be postulated for the latter; and, combining the alphabetic and cuneiform realizations in the present text, one would obtain a noun *ʿutn, i.e. a nominal formation of abstract meaning acting as predicative element[106]. Conclusively, then, in agreement with Zadok, I would translate the present name as "Marduk is my strength", although viewing the predicative element as decidedly West Semitic[107].

102. Cf. Huffmon, *APNMT*, 206; Gelb, *CAAA*, 21a.

103. See Noth, *IPN*, 254: 1125, 1126; Aḥituv, *Enc. Miqr.* 6, col. 431.

104. Ryckmans, *NPSS* I, 172b.

105. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1126b.

106. For this type, cf. Zadok. WSB, 96ff.

107. The case of *-ḫutnu / -ʿšny* <*ʿTN is not too different from that of *Adad-it-'i / hdysʿy*, with common reference to a root *YTʿ, in the statue of Tell Fekheriye, save for the use of <s> as particularity of the statue itself: cf. the recent discussion by R. Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), 123. In both cases, we would be dealing with per se unattested Aramaic roots bearing voiceless interdentals, for which, however, a host of cognate roots showing (inter)dentals and sibilants may be summoned from the overall West Semitic area. And finally, it may be noted that the present case adds yet another hypothesis for the interpretation of the alphabetic personal name *byt'lʿšny*, attested in Northern Syria of the early 6th century (Cf. J. Starcky, *Syria* 37 [1960], 100; and see *KAI* II, 277, for an overview of the interpretations of *ʿšny* as verbal form; also, R. Zadok, *WSB*, 427 ad 85), although one would have to consider the /*t/ = <t> realization of Imperial Aramaic as not yet having taken place in the relevant inscription.

In line 2, the only fully visible sign was considered an ʿayin by Stevenson, a dalet by Johns, as said above: but in fact, it would seem to be neither of the two (cf. copy). My choice is a he, which would allow for the partially legible graph before it to be interpreted as a heth: and it might be noticed that the resulting (integrated) *w'*] ⌜*ḥ*⌝*'h*, "and his brother" would provide a notation on the second party sold, which tallies, by and large, with those of nos. 14, 17, above (no personal name given of the "minor" member; two lines on the same edge, with indenture, as in no. 17, L.H.E.).

One final point of interest characterizes this text: the name of the buyer in the Assyrian deed -as well as in no. 24-, Ḫudayyu. It is just possible that this individual was the same person as the "Ḫudday" attested in some of the still unpublished unilingual Aramaic tablets of the Royal Museums of Brussels, and specifically in *O.* 3714 (record of judicial proceedings) and - perhaps - *O.* 3670, a corn-loan contract[108]. Cf. no. 59, below, for a case in which such a coincidence of data between apparently far-off pieces

108. This information is to be gained from E. Lipiński, *Acta antiqua* 22 (1974), 379, 382, resp.

of documentation does undoubtedly take place.

26. 81-2-4, 395.

ADD 562 = *ARU* 595.

CIS II/1, 36 = *ABC* 26 = *EA* 6 = *Ep.Ar.* 6 = *Lieberman* 25.

Assyrian

Fragment of a conveyance text, preserved in its lower part (5 lines on the Obv., 8 lines on the Rev.). The parts of the document regarding the nature of the transaction, and the names of the parties involved are lost: the remnants merely concern the penalty formulae. Date: ca. 640 B.C. (Lieberman, on paleographical grounds).

Aramaic

Remnants of six alphabetic signs on the B.E. This edge is only partially preserved: the extent of the writing surface which is lost may be calculated as between one-third and one half, on the basis of the reconstruction of Rev. 2 of the Assyrian text, [KA.KA *ub-t*]*a-u-ni* 10 MA.NA. Copy: fig. 26.

[*dn*]$^{r}t^{!}$ *'šrtb*

Translation

"[De]ed of Ištar-erība/tarība$^{!?}$"

Notes. As preserved, the personal name in this alphabetic text has

posed problems since the first edition. Delaporte considered, rightly against the CIS, that *'š* represented a reductive writing of the divine name Ištar in the Aramaic inscriptions of this age -but *'šr* for the same name is also attested (cf. Part One, pp. 64-65, above). As for the predicative element, Delaporte's rendering was *-urtabbu*, i.e. "la forme *iphteal* du verbe *rabû*, ... *Ištar exalte*"[109]. This interpretation has been maintained virtually with no modification in more recent treatments of the name[110]. In fact, however, the D stem of *rabû* is a rarity in Assyrian personal names[111]; while, on the other hand, the root *riābu/râbu*, "to compensate" is extremely frequent in all periods of Akkadian onomastics[112] as the basic element in *Ersatznamen*, and in the Neo-Assyrian age may even have been used to render forms of Aramaic **ryb* through the scribal practice of "improper encoding"[113].

I therefore suggest that one of various possible scribal errors was involved in the writing of *'šrtb*: either the faulty inversion of resh and taw for an intended **'š-trb*, i.e. with the 2nd masc. (or 3rd fem.) sing. of the preterite of *riābu*, **-tarība*[114], or the same result with Ištar= *'šr* and the omission of

109. *EA*, 28.

110. G.R. Driver, *RSO* 32 (1957), 44; Vattioni, *Ep.Ar.*, 495; A.R. Millard, *JSS* 21 (1976), 6 ad 2.4.3.4.

111. Cf. *APN*, 172b for an example, drawn not from legal or administrative documents, but from specimen onomastic lists.

112. Cf. *AHw.*, 978b.

113. Cf. F.M. Fales, *OrAn* 16 (1977), 61 ff. for this practice, and see, in particular, ^{I}DINGIR-*la*-SU and parallels discussed in *CCENA*, 65.

114. Cf. the name $^{I.d}$15(=Istar)-*ta-ri-ba*, *APN*, 107b.

resh (= *'šrt<r>b*), or - finally - the erroneous writing of taw instead of yod, i.e. postulating that the name had been **'š-ryb*, *Ištar-erība, with the 3rd. masc. sing. of the preterite[115]. Preceding the name is a partially preserved graph, surely not a lamed as inferred by *EA* and other editions, and possibly a taw: and, also in view of the available space at the beginning (cf. the remarks above), [*dn*]*'t* appears a plausible restoration.

27. *K.* 309a.

ADD 207 = *ARU* 509.

CIS II/1, 22 = *ABC* 14 = *EA* 8 = *Ep.Ar.* 8 = *Lieberman* 26.

Assyrian

Conveyance text, fully preserved: sale of a slave woman by one Bēl-aḫḫēšu, charioteer of the infantry, to Kiṣir-Aššur, 'captain' of the guards, for 1 1/2 minas of silver. The name of the *amtu* is clearly given as ^{SAL}*Arba-ìl-šár-rat* (Obv. 4). Among the witnesses, one may find ^{I}*Am-ma-a-a*, by profession "scribe in Aramaic" (A.BA *Ára-ma-a-a*: Rev. 5)[116]. Date: eponymy of Sîn-šarru-uṣur, governor of Ḫindanu (= 639 B.C., following M. Falkner, *AfO* 17, 118).

Aramaic

On the fully preserved L.H.E., one line of Aramaic in the central part of the edge itself. Copy: fig. 27.

115. See *APN*, 107b, for the writing $^{I.d}$15.SU in cuneiform.

116. The name of this scribe, along with others, is listed by P. Garelli, in *MsN* II, 439.

dnt 'rblsr

Translation

"Deed of Arba'il-šarrat".

Notes. No problems surround this endorsement. The name bears three characteristic features of Aramaic transcriptions of Assyrian: (1) the lack of notation of internal ', as in no. 1, above (but cf. no. 33, below, for *-'rb'l*); (2) the rendering of NA <*š*> by <*s*> ; (3) the reduction of the feminine suffix *-at* to *-aḥ* or *-aØ*, as in the case of the toponym of no. 3, above (cf. Part One, 2.3.a, for all features).

28. *K.* 318.

ADD 39 = *ARU* 299.

CIS II/1, 20 = *ABC* 16 = *EA* 7 = *Ep.Ar.* 7 = *Lieberman* 27.

Assyrian

Envelope of the contract *ADD* 38: a loan of silver, representing the "offering of the first-fruits"[117] for Ištar of Nineveh, is made by Bēl-lū-balāṭ to ^{I}*Man-nu-ki-i-Arba-ìl* (for the

117. SAG^{MEŠ}: cf. J.N. Postgate, *FNALD* 183a, with previous bibliography; cf. also S. Zawadzki, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 41 (1980), 151-155; B. Menzel, AT, II, 14*, fn. 155. It must be noticed, in this connection, that the sometimes doubted reading of SAG^{MEŠ} as *rēsēti* is now confirmed by the Assyro-Aramaic sources F: b,d,g, below (cf. already F.M. Fales, *OrNS* 53 (1984), 66-68).

name, cf. Obv. 4, and Obv. 5 of the inner tablet). No professional titles given. Interest on the silver is 25%; the date of deliverance is one year, to the day, from the date of the contract (3/VI/ eponymy of Adad-rēmanni = 630 B.C., following M. Falkner, *AfO* 17, 118).

Aramaic

As in nos. 15 and (especially) 20, above, the alphabetic inscription is here placed on the right-hand margin, of ovoidal shape, with three lines of script, for a total of 20 graphs (8 + 8 + 4). A slight abrasion marks the initial part of l.2, and influences also the following line. Copy: fig. 28.

Transliteration

1. *lmmg'rbl*
2. *z ʿy qʾdm byt*
3. *ʿkspʾʾ*

Translation

"Concerning Mannu-ki-Arba'il, (by profession) household administrator. The silver (debited against him)".

Notes. The personal name in line 1 poses no particular problems: cf. Part One, 2.3.a, for discussion of *k>g* and the intervocalic aleph. In line 2, my interpretation differs sharply from previous ones (Delaporte: "qui est devant la maison"; Vattioni: "che è davanti alla casa"; while Stevenson read *zʿyʾ[y]ʿqʾdm* as a verbal form): since *zy qdm byt* clearly has no relation with any legal

element present in the Assyrian text, it can only represent the Aramaic version of a Neo-Assyrian professional title. In fact, however, proceeding from the main meaning of Aramaic *qdm* as "in front of"[118], it must be noted that Neo-Assyrian textual material shows no attestation of a corresponding title **ša pān bīti*. Rather, the same material gives evidence for the professional function *ša muḫḫi bīti*, lit. "(he who is) over a household", i.e. "household administrator"[119]. This, therefore, must quite plausibly be the title indicated by our text: whereby we may gain a new insight of Aramaic *qdm*, as utilized not only for the loan-translation of Akk. *(ina) pān(i)*, "in front of"[120], but also of *ina muḫḫi*, "over, against". In line 3 of the present epigraph, the *ʿḥqlʾ* suggested by Delaporte and Ungnad (also by Vattioni) is ruled out by a check of the text (cf. copy): certainly no lamed is visible in third position. Agreeing, instead, with Stevenson, I read here *ʿkspʾʾ*: recalling the fact that this text is very similar to no. 20, above, in contents as well as in the placing of the West Semitic epigraph on its surface, it seems very likely that the final word represented a brief "reminder" of the object of the loan, implying the longer formula that is to be found in no. 20 itself (*'grt ksp'*

118. *DISO*, 251-252.

119. *CAD* B, 296-297; also Neo-Babylonian. Cf. also Bibl. Heb. ^{a}*šer* ^{c}*al habbayit* as title of similar meaning, and presenting the expected ^{c}*l*; for ^{c}*l* and *qdm* in our texts, see above, Part One, pp. 84-86.

120. As e.g. in the statue of Tell Fekheriye, Aram. l. 15 = Ass. l. 24; and see, for later periods, J. Starcky, *Syria* 37 (1960), 100 (a suggestion for integration alternative to the one discussed in fn. 37, above); Y. Muffs, *Studies*, 373.

zy ^{c}*l* PN).

29. 83-1-18, 385.

ADD 522 = *ARU* 380.

ABC 27 = *EA* 27 = *Ep.Ar.* 27 = *Lieberman* 28.

Assyrian

Fragment of conveyance text: 8 lines on the Obv., in an approximately central position, and preserved by half; one line on the L.H.E.. Sale of an estate; no date. Collations: S. Parpola, *Assur* 2, 194-195; the transliteration below varies on the latter as regards Obv. 8'. Copy: fig. 29.

Transliteration

Obv. 1'. ⌜6 ANŠE$^{MEŠ!?}$ A ⌝[.ŠÀ
2'. *ina* ^{URU}*Ḫa-bír*$^{?}$-[
3'. **ṭiḫi* $^{I.d}$30-[
4'. **ṭiḫi* ^{SAL}*Bi-s*[*i-*
5'. **ṭiḫi* ^{KUR}*Ú-la-*[
6'. *ú-piš-ma* ^{I}M[U-
7'. *ina lìb-bi* 2 MA.N[A
8'. [*TA IGI ^{I}*Se*]-⌜'*e*⌝[*-ma*]-⌜*ta-'a*$^{!}$⌝[
L.H.E. 1 .]x SAG 2 ANŠE ^{ŠE}PAD-*šá*

Translation

"... 6 *ēmāru*s of field ... in the town Ḫabir$^{?}$ ... adjoining Sîn-..., adjoining the woman Bisi- ... adjoining the territory of Ia

..., Šumu$^{?}$- ... bought for two minas [of silver] from Se'-mata' ..... (L.H.E.) ... 2 *ēmāru*s of barley ...".

Aramaic

On L.H.E., in parallel to, and above, the single line of script in cuneiform, 9 graphs of alphabetic script separated by word-dividers into three groups. Date: ca. 630 B.C., according to Lieberman, on paleographical grounds. Copy: fig. 28.

]⌜*k*⌝*rm* . *š'mt*^{c} . *b*$^{?}$[

Translation

" ... Vineyard of Še'-mata^{c}; ..."

Notes. A considerable amount of confusion seems to surround the previous editions of the Aramaic text here given. Foremost, in references: *ABC* numbers this text as no. 27 on p. 136, but as no. 26 on p. 190 (erroneously, since *ABC* 26 is 81-2-4, 395 = our no. 25); Delaporte, in turn, refers to the cuneiform copy as *ADD* 350, which is wrong. Then, in the physical disposition of the epigraph: Delaporte sets the text on two lines, and this arrangement is taken up by Vattioni (p. 501), with the actual numbering of the lines. Finally, while Delaporte's copy is flawless (save for the above feature), his transliteration has he instead of taw in the personal name: the correct reading is given by Vattioni, although the personal name is not recognized as such.

In fact, *š'mt*^{c}, if evaluated as an Aramaic onomastic formation, poses no real problems. The element *š'* is to be

identified[121] as the alphabetic rendering of the divine name *Se-e* or *Si-i'/Se-e'* (also *Si-i*) known from Neo-Assyrian sources such as the "Harran census"[122] -i.e. as the "western" or Aramaic phonetic variant of the name of the Moon-god Sîn of Ḫarrān, presenting a reduction of *n* to *'/Ø* in final position. Recently, E. Lipiński has gathered much additional alphabetic material for the divine name, written *š'*, also *šy*[123]: notice in particular *O.* 3714:7 which bears *mt^{c}š'*, i.e. the same components of the name under discussion in inverted order (cf. also *mt^{c}<š>y* in no. 54, below). The verbal root is *mt^{c}*, "to protect"; in *š'mt^{c}*, specifically, we should be dealing with a perfect qal, 3rd pers. singular. For a clear cuneiform version of *š'mt^{c}*, notice *CCENA* 21 I 25, ^{I}*Se-e'-ma-ta-a'*; a further case must, in my opinion, be sought in the very fragmentary Obv. 8' of the present Assyrian deed[124]. For other names built with the root *mt^{c}*, cf. nos. 38, 54, below.

30. *K.* 320.

ADD 711 = *ARU* 55.

CIS II/1, 15 = *ABC* 11 = *EA* 4 = *Ep.Ar.* 4 = *Lieberman* 29.

Assyrian

Conveyance text. Sale of a slave woman to the *rab kiṣri* Kakkullānu, a well-attested "businessman" of the Nineveh

121. Following S.A. Kaufman, *JAOS* 90 (1970), 270-271.

122. Cf. Fales, *CCENA*, 105-144, and see Part One, pp. 68-70, above.

123. *SAIO* I, 63-64, and cf. Part One, fn. 118, above.

124. Against S. Parpola's reading as ^{I}]^{d}IM$^{!}$-*ḫur*$^{!}$-[, in *Assur* 2, 194.

archives[125], with the provision that she will be married to a slave of the purchaser. The sellers are four individuals, described two by two as "her brothers" and "her sons", resp. (Obv. 6-7). These designations of kin imply that the ironsmith-*paterfamilias*-husband was dead, and that the remaining family (as well as the family of origin of the woman) saw a convenience in a new marriage, which, however, had all the formal and substantial characteristics of a sale[126]. The price is 1/2 mina of silver (Obv. 11); the provision concerning the new marriage is to be made out from a broken line (Obv. 12), also with the aid of the Aramaic epigraph, as: [*a-na* ^{I}IR-^{d}PA] ⌜ÌR⌝-*šú it-ti* [*-din*], "he has given in marriage to Urad-Nabû, his slave". Date: 19/I/ eponymy of Nabû-šarru-uṣur, A.BA KUR (=626 B.C., according to M. Falkner, *AfO* 17, 119).

Aramaic

On L.H.E., from bottom to top -i.e. in parallel to the single line in cuneiform on the same margin- traces of 10 alphabetic signs, ending in an abrasion of three to four signs' length (but which could have been relevant to a blank space). Copy: fig. 30.

'št š$^{!}$ ^{c}rdnb⌜w⌝

Translation

"(Concerning) the marriage for Urad-Nabû".

125. Cf. the references given in Part One, fn. 19.

126. For similar texts, cf. J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 166-167; and cf. text no. 17, above, for a further sale of women by the male kin.

Notes. Remarkably enough, the šin which constitutes graph IV in my copy and version is absent from all previous editions of this epigraph, with the sole exception of Oppert and Menant's *Documents juridiques* (where the remainder of the reading is, however, erroneous)[127]; and the clarity of the sign may be judged from the copy itself, in which - moreover - the large spacing between signs IV and V as traced by Delaporte is eliminated. As here read, the epigraph represents a unique and interesting piece of evidence for "Assyro-Aramaica"; for it bears a message which may be made out as linguistically Akkadian in full, although it is written with the use of Aramaic alphabetic script.

The key to the epigraph itself is obviously represented by its first word, which has been previonsly understood as a loanword from Akk. **aššatu*, "wife": thus Delaporte interprets "l'épouse d'Ardi-Nabû" and Vattioni follows ("moglie di Ardi-Nabû"). This interpretation is wrong, however, because *aššatu* is decidedly not attested in Neo-Assyrian[128], and thus could not have been the basis for the suggested loan. But further difficulties for this interpretation exist, both phonological and morphological in character. On the first count, Akkadian *š* should have been recorded as *s* in the alphabetic script of the Neo-Assyrian period (cf. Part One, p.61 ff.); secondly, the presence of graph IV as *š* entails the abolition of the previously supposed construct-state complex, thus causing one to expect a reduction of the alleged **aššatu*, as a sing. feminine noun of Akkadian origin (but used in the absolute

127. J. Oppert - J. Menant, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, Paris 1877, 149.

128. Cf. *CAD* A/2, 462–465.

state) to a form ending in *-h* or *ø*, in conformity with Ḫanduate / *ḫdwh* (cf. no. 3) or *-šarrat /-sr* (cf. no. 27).

It thus follows that the noun to be sought must be other than *aššatu* and in a morphological formation such as to bar attempts -on the part of the alphabetic scribe- to view it in analogy with the Aramaic feminine singular of the absolute state. These conditions are, in my opinion, fully satisfied by **issutu*, a Neo-Assyrian term recently reconstructed by J.N. Postgate[129] as the abstract of **issu* (Neo-Assyrian for "wife") and as reading of the partially logographic writinge SAL-*ú-ti*, SAL-*su-ti*, etc., with the meaning "wifehood" -or better, "(juridical) condition of wifehood">"(legal) marriage"[130]. Since the term **issutu*, with the above writings, occurs in two further "sale + marriage" conveyance texts from Kakkullānu's archive[131], there is every reason to suppose that this deed was of the same category, although the abstract noun occurs only in the West Semitic version here, as *'št*.

As for the *š* which follows *'št*, it can only represent Assyrian *ša*, as stated in Part One, 2.3.e, above. Finally the writing of the name of Kakkullānu's slave is of interest; while an initial element *ᶜbd-* is to be ruled out, through comparison with the bet in the second element *-nbw*, the rendering *ᶜrd* seems in any case to be at least partially modeled on the parallel West Semitic term for "slave": cf. Part One, pp. 66–67.

129. *Iraq* 41 (1979), 95[9].

130. Cf. *AHw.*, 1048a, under the older reading *sinnišūtu*, *sinnissūtu*, "Ehe".

131. *ARU* 56, 7; *ARU* 57, 8.

31. *K.* 329

ADD 318 = *ARU* 632 = *FNALD* 12.

CIS II/1, 23 = *ABC* 12 = *EA* 10 = *Ep.Ar.* 10 = *Lieberman* 31

Assyrian

Conveyance text, complete (8,4 x 4,3 x 1,4 cms.). Three individuals give a slave of theirs, $^{1.d}$15.BÀD-*qa-a-li* (Obv. 6) to Kakkullānu (cf. no. 30, above) in exchange for the woman Abī-liḫyā (^{SAL}AD$^{!}$-*li-iḫ-a*[132]), described as a "handmaid" (*amtu*) of the *rab kiṣri* (Obv. 9). Date: 20/II/eponymy of Sîn-šarru-uṣur, A.BA KUR (= 622 B.C., following M. Falkner, *AfO* 17, 119).

Aramaic

On left-hand edge, from top to bottom, 10 alphabetic signs. Copy: fig. 31.

dnt š$^{!}$ *r*$^{!}$ *drq'l*

Translation

"Deed of Ištar-dūr-qāli".

Notes. As may be seen from fig. 31, my copy presents no substantial variance on the one published by Delaporte; in this light, it may be judged surprising that so many different readings have been provided for the text, from the *dnt* ['] *šrdrq'l* propounded by Delaporte himself (and survived down to Vattioni's and Postgate's

132. Cf. *FNALD*, 99, 100, for the collated name.

versions), to the *dnt '(?)št(?)rdrq'l* suggested by Ungnad[133].

As said above, the visible signs are ten in number: after *dnt*, the first one is a šin, with the right-hand trait slightly detached (through fading) from the other two and the "base". Then follow three relatively similar graphs, which must be interpreted as resh, dalet, resh, resp.; and finally the (again) slightly faded qof and aleph, plus the clearly visible lamed.

Thus, in this case, we have to deal with a transcription of Ištar as *šr* (cf. Part One, p. 64). For the central element *-dr-* = *dūr(u)*, cf. already no. 7, above. In final position, *q'l* renders NA *qālu* = Bab. *qallu*, "small, lowly", etc.[134]: the name thus means "Istar is the wall/protection of the lowly/humble one".

32. *K.* 421.

ADD 623 = *ARU* 120.

CIS II/1, 24 = *ABC* 13 = *EA* 17 = *Ep.Ar.* 17 = *Lieberman* 32.

Assyrian

Conveyance text: a further deed of Kakkullānu (cf. nos. 30, 31). Twenty *emārus* of cornland, plus a threshing-floor, a *tabriu*[135], a garden, and a cistern in the town Qurubi are given in usufruct for 6 years to the *rab kiṣri* on the part of two individuals, against one mina of silver. Break at bottom of tablet: approximately 4 lines lost on Obverse, same at beginning of

133. *ARU*, p. 372; surviving apud Parpola, *Assur* I/1 (1974), 5.

134. Cf. *AHw.*, 894b.

135. For this Neo-Assyrian noun, cf. *AHw.*, 1299b; J.N. Postgate, *GPA*, 84-85.

Reverse. Date: 3[136]/10/eponymy of Sîn-šarru-uṣur, A.BA KUR (=same date as no. 31).

Aramaic

On L.H.E., from top to bottom (i.e. upside down, but in the same direction as the 2 lines of cuneiform script on this margin), seven alphabetic signs in two words. It is probable that nothing is missing from this edge, but possible that the epigraph continued on the lost bottom edge (cf. no. 33, below). Copy: fig. 32.

dnt ḥql' [( )]

Translation

"Deed of the field [of PN_1, PN_2 (?)]".

Notes. For the noun *ḥql'*, "field", cf. nos. 10, 16, 18, 37.

33. *K.* 305.

ADD 327 = *ARU* 358.

CIS II/1, 21 = *ABC* 17 = *EA* 2 = *Ep.Ar.* 2 = *Lieberman* 33.

Assyrian

Conveyance text; sale of a house in Nineveh by ^{I}*Pa-qa-a-na-Arba-il* and ^{I}IM.15 (=Šār-Ištar) to ^{I}*Kul-kul-a-a*, identifiable -on the basis of the witness lists - with Kakkullānu (cf. nos. 30-32),

136. My collation (IX/76).

for 1/2 mina of silver (Obv. 8' -10'). Top of the text lost, for the extension of 3 or 4 lines and the space for sealings. Collations: S. Parpola, *Assur* 2, 158. The date is given on the L.H.E.: 10/II/eponymy of Aššur-rēmanni (=621 B.C., following M. Falkner, *AfO* 17, 119).

Aramaic

On the B.E, left blank by the cuneiform scribe, two lines of alphabetic script, bearing 8 + 4 graphs. It is possible that this inscription was the continuation of an epigraph beginning on the lost U.E., so as to give a full text more or less comparable with the one reconstructed for no. 32, above. Copy: fig. 33.

Transliteration

1. *pqn'rb'l*
2. *sr'š*

Translation

"[Deed of the house of (?)] Paqa-ana-Arbail (and) Šār-Ištar".

Notes. Cf. *EA*, p. 87, for the correct reading of the first name (against the erroneous version twice on p. 24). For the transcriptions, see Part One, 2.3.a.

34. *K.*1466.

ADD 267 = *ARU* 551.

EA 34 = *Ep.Ar.* 34 = *Lieberman* 34.

Assyrian

Top left-hand fragment of a conveyance text. Sale of a slave woman, ^{SAL}*Ba-ni-tú-*x[, plus her daughter(?), belonging to ^{I}*Pa-qa-a-na-*[(Obv. 3' -5') to a "chatelaine" (*šakintu*), whose name is lost, for 50$^{?}$ shekels of silver. The date is lost (but cf. possibly *ADD* 76 = *ARU* 654 for two identical witnesses as this text, ^{I}IM.15 and ^{I}*I-sa-na-a-a*, attested for the eponymy of Aššur-naṣir = 652 B.C.); Lieberman assigns the deed to ca. 621 B.C., possibly on the basis of a comparison of personal names between this text and no. 33, above.

Aramaic

On L.H.E., from bottom to top, traces of three signs after a large break. Copy: fig. 34.

[ ] $h^{?}$ $k^{?}$ l

Notes. Delaporte, p. 49: "Sur le bord supérieur (sic), traces d'un texte araméen dont on lit avec certitude la seule lettre ...*t*.. que Johns estime être la dernière du mot *dnt*". This reading of the epigraph is taken up by Ungnad[137] as well as by Vattioni[138]. In fact, the *three* visible graphs on the margin could represent the

137. *ARU*, p. 338.

138. *Ep. Ar.*, 502.

final part of the name of the handmaid sold through the deed: and a possibility in this sense could be, to split up the initial graph so as to read]*n*'*t*'*kl*, and understand the entire name as ^{SAL}Banītu-natkil[139]. Other solutions are, however, certainly possible as well.

35. *K.* 8529.

ADD 156 = *ARU* 333.

CIS II/1, 37 = *ABC* 28 = *EA* 20 = *Ep.Ar.* 20 = *Lieberman* 35.

Assyrian

Central flake of contract text, Reverse: only the initial signs of the witness list are preserved. No identification of the contents is possible; the text has no visible joins with other fragments of the present corpus.

Aramaic

On L.H.E., from top to bottom. Traces of four graphs. Copy: fig. 35.

]^{r},^{1} *grt* [

Translation

"Contract of ..."

139. Cf. *AHw.*, 1305b for this predicative element.

Notes. My reading agrees with Delaporte's and Vattioni, against Stevenson's and Ungnad's[140] versions, as regards the identification of the last sign as a taw; however, the initial aleph is in my opinion rather more visible than made out in *EA* or *Ep.Ar.*

36. *K.* 15332.

AJSL 42, 273.

Lieberman 36.

Assyrian

Unidentifiable flake. Remnants of the 'tails' of a cuneiform sign.

Aramaic

One clear alphabetic sign. Copy: fig. 36.

b

37. *BM* 121043.

Postgate, *Iraq* 32, 139 ff., Pl. XXII, XXXIb.

Millard, *Iraq* 34, 133, Pl. LIVa = *Ep.Ar.* 165.

Assyrian

Conveyance text. Five [+n ?] individuals give 50 *emārus* of

140. *ARU*, p. 213.

land -at the measure of 8 1/2 *qa* per *sutu*- to ^{I}*Ia-ta-a* (Rev. 2', 6') against a loan of 8 minas of silver by the Karkemish standard, for a period of six years' usufruct. The return of the sum will imply the redemption of the land. The tablet is a 'bottom' fragment, with about 3–4 lines missing at the top. The date is not given, although one of the witnesses, Dadusu (Rev. 9') occurs also in BM 134554[141], of 665 B.C.

Aramaic

On L.H.E., from bottom to top, two lines of alphabetic script, bearing 8 + 4 signs. Both lines appear to be interrupted by the break at the top of the tablet, and by the smaller 'nick' in the lower lefthand corner. The signs in line 2 are shallower, but about double the size of those of line 1. Copy: fig. 37.

Transliteration

1. [*d*]*nt ḥqly' š*[
2. [()] *š b*$^{?}$, ˹,$^{?}$˺[

Translation

"Deed of the fields of$^{?}$[ ]/....."

Notes. A difficult text: in particular, line 2 is very hard to reconcile with any of the elements (names, numbers, etc.) provided by the Assyrian deed. The sole -very tentative- solution I can offer, is to suggest that graph II therein may have been an ^{c}ayin:

141. Published by J.N. Postgate, *Iraq* 32 (1970), 148 ff.

if so, a restitution of the line as bearing an initial element [*y*]*š*^{c}, (= ^{I}*Ia-ta-a*) would be possible -providing a further alphabetic attestation for a personal name deriving from the Aramaic root **yṯ*^{c}, "to save, to deliver"[142]. At the end of line 1, the sign is surely not *z* - as believed by Millard and Vattioni - but *š*: cf. no. 30, above, if it is to be understood as corresponding to Akk. *ša* -but a continuation of the text into the broken part is also possible.

38. *BM* 123369.

Postgate, *Iraq* 32, 144 ff., Pl. XXIII.

Millard, *Iraq* 34, 134, Fig. 5, Pl. LIVb = *Ep.Ar.* 166.

Assyrian

Conveyance text: top and right-hand side entirely missing. Transaction by which ^{I}*Ma-te-*[*'e-*^{d}IM? (Obv. 4: cf. Aramaic for the name) sells an unidentifiable goods to ^{I}*Q*[*i?*- (Obv. 5) for 2 minas of silver. The witnesses in the deed have, in the main, West Semitic names[143]. Date lost.

142. Cf. R.Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), 123, for this root, previously believed to be indicative of Arabic names (Zadok, *ZDMG* 131 [1980], 51, with previous literature and discussion). See fn. 107, above; there can be little doubt at present that a West Semitic root *W/YṮ^{c} may be reconstructed, as suggested by Gröndahl, *PTU*, 147, with the inclusion of Hebrew YŠ^{c} (and now Aramaic YṮ^{c}).

143. On L.H.E. 1, the reading of the name is not $^{I.d}$GAB.E (i.e. "^{d}GAB-*iqbi*", as understood by Postgate), but ^{I}DINGIR-*gab-e*, i.e. **Il-gābē*, for which cf. Zadok, *WSB*, 87.

Aramaic

On the L.H.E., from bottom to top, traces of two lines of Aramaic, bearing 15? + 3? alphabetic signs. At the beginning of line 1, no more than 3–4 graphs must be missing; at the end, perhaps only one sign is lost. The signs on line 2 are very faded. Copy: fig. 38.

Transliteration

1. [*l*]*q*$^{!?}$*ḥ mn mt*^{c}*hdd br nn*[*y*?

2. [()] x *ḥ*? x

Translation

"Bought(?) from Mate^{c}-Hadad son of Nan[*i*? / ..."

Notes. The Aramaic version allows, as may be seen, a plausible integration of the name of the buyer in the cuneiform deed[144]. Less clear is the beginning of line 1: Millard reads [ ] *x h ḥ*? before the *mn*, "from". On the other hand, a qof might be envisaged as a single visible sign after the break, if one assumes it to have been engraved with a slightly larger spacing than the adjacent graphs. In this light, a form of the root **lqḥ*, "to take, buy" becomes a distinct possibility for restoration: and it might well be asked, whether the adjacent top edge of the tablet -which is totally lost- could have held the beginning of the West Semitic message, perhaps of the type **dnt* OBJECT SOLD *zy* PN$_1$ (buyer) etc. The second visible line on the L.H.E. is very difficult: Millard provides no

144. For the root *MṮ^{c}, cf. text no. 29, above.

transliteration.

39. 1904-10-9, 57a.

AJSL 42, 181.

Assyrian

Contract-type text: envelope of *ADD* 1160, relevant to a loan of silver (?). Date: 8/VI/eponymy of Šamaš-šarru-ibni (= 613 B.C., following M. Falkner, *AfO* 17, 120).

Aramaic

On the R.H.E., as in nos. 21, 28, above, the ovoidal space is occupied by the Aramaic reference note. Traces of 1 + 4 signs, probably on two different lines. Copy: fig. 39.

Transliteration

1. [ ] x
2. [ ] x x $d^{?}$ $r^{?}$

Notes. No visible joins exist between this text and other Assyro-Aramaic documents from Nineveh.

40. *K.* 13072.

ADD 489 = *ARU* 382.

Assyrian

Conveyance text, quite fragmentary: only the 5 bottom lines of the Obverse and the top six of the Reverse are preserved. Sale of an orchard, or vineyard: in Obv. 4' (agreeing with S. Parpola, *Assur* 2, 81), one should read [GIŠ.SA]R *šu-a-te za-ár-pi la-qi*, "this orchard/garden is acquired, taken". From Rev. 2 it is clear that the name of the selling party was Kiṣir-Ištar (^{I}*Ki-ṣir*-15); no other names have survived.

Aramaic

On the B.E., very faint traces of seven(?) signs. Copy: fig. 40. No transliteration possible: cf. the commentary, below.

Notes. The first sign is surely aleph; then follows a complex which might be read as *mṣ*, or even as a tightly-written *grt* -although *'grt* would not seem appropriate for a conveyance text (cf. Part One, 1.3.). A scratch, or a lamed, comes next; then a mem, followed by three fainter graphemes, the first of which might be kaf, or waw, while the last might be qof. The faintness of the entire epigraph is certified by the fact that neither Johns nor Ungnad have any note on its existence.

41. 95-4-6, 45.

ADD 694.

Assyrian

Top right-hand fragment (7 lines on Overse, 8 on Reverse) of a text pertaining to trees or types of wood (GIŠ^{MEŠ}) within a legal framework, which might be that of the loan-document, or, more likely, of a court decision of sorts. The rectangular shape of the tablet and the expression *la na-ṣa* (Obv. 4') would fit the latter solution[145].

Transliteration

Obv. 1'.] x *me* GIŠ^{MEŠ} ITI$_{A}$[B

2'. I]*Mu-sal-lim*-DINGIR 2-*i šá* A.LU[GAL?

3'. U]D? 20 *ša* ITI$_{NE}$ GIŠ^{MEŠ} *ú*!-[

4'. U]D? 20 *ša* ITI$_{NE}$ GIŠ^{MEŠ} *la na-ṣa*[

5'. I]DINGIR-*a-a-a-mu* *LÚ$_{mu-kil}$ PA-*te šá* É[.GAL(?)

6'.]x *LÚ$_{3-šú}$ šá* É.[GAL

7'.]-PAP *LÚ$_{ka-ar-ri}$

(seal impressions)

rest lost

Rev. 1'.] x

2'.] PAP[

3'. N]AM *ki-ṣi*[*r*

145. Cf. Postgate, *FNALD*, nos. 42 and 45.

4'.]x *LÚ$_{SAG}$ M[AN

5'.].APIN-*eš* *LÚ$_{3}$[-*šú*

6'.]-PAP *LÚ$_{3}$[-*šú*

7'.]-*i* *LÚ$_{qu}$[*r-butu*

8'.]-MAŠ?/DINGIR? *LÚ$_{2}$[-*i*

Aramaic

On top edge, in fragmentary context, traces of three signs: copy, fig. 41.

$$]b^{?}\ {}^{c}q[$$

Notes. It is quite possible that the Aramaic text held the word ^{c}q, "wood", hitherto unattested before Imperial Aramaic[146], also in the light of the GIŠ^{MEŠ} referred to in the cuneiform document.

42. *K.* 5700.

ADD 540 = *ARU* 667.

Assyrian

Conveyance-type text, in very fragmentary state: cf. S. Parpola, *Assur* 2, 87, for collations. The Obverse presents one line, then a blank space usually reserved for the seal impressions, then two more lines of script, bearing personal names: the text might thus be a conveyance of people. On the Reverse, parts of 4

146. Cf. *DISO*, 219, s.v. $^{c}ṣ$.

lines are preserved, possibly relevant to the witness list. Among the names here, according to S. Parpola, we might have (Rev. 3') ^{I}*Sa-s*]*i*$'$*-i* ^{LÚ}*ḫa-*[*za-nu:* if confirmed, this attestation should be compared to *ADD* 448:33, of 665 B.C.[147].

Aramaic

Very faint traces of signs within the blank space reserved for seals. Was this Aramaic epigraph directly engraved on the clay, or part of a (cylinder or stamp) seal impression? In any case, two graphemes can be made out, while a third is fainter. Copy: fig. 42.

c$_m$*?* *ṣ?/t?*

Notes. If the Aramaic text refers to a personal name, no correspondence is apparent with any of the onomastics of the cuneiform text.

147. On which cf. recently S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 99, 453.

B. K A L H U

43. *ND* 2436.

Millard, *Iraq* 34, 131-132, Fig. 1, Pl. LIIIa-b = *Ep.Ar.* 161.

Aramaic

Triangular clay label, found in 1952 on the Ziggurat Terrace[148]. "Remains of rope fibers through wide end, reverse blank. On the front are four stamp seal impressions ... Above the sealings an Aramaic note" (Millard). On the 'shoulder' between the Obverse and the 'wide end', the six alphabetic graphs are written in a slanting direction.

lhykl'

Translation

"For the palace".

Notes. For sealings of various types and shapes from Nimrud-Kalḫu, bearing cuneiform inscriptions, cf. J.N. Postgate, *GPA*, 20-21.

148. Cf. M.E.L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains*, II, London 1966, 164ff. for finds on this excavation site, including Neo-Assyrian tablets of canonical and post-canonical date; also, RlA V (1980), 311-314.

44. *ND* 2347.

Millard, *Iraq* 34, 132, Fig. 2, Pl. LIIIc = *Ep.Ar.* 162.

Aramaic

Triangular clay label, same provenance as no. 43. Reverse uninscribed; 3 stamp seal impressions on Obverse. On top of the Obv., four alphabetic signs, interrupted by a break at left-hand corner (where 2-3 more signs could have been traced).

lbyʿtʾ[ ]

Translation

"For the house/temple/palace of ...".

Notes. Millard (loc. cit.) integrates, with doubts, *lbyt*[*'*], "for the house(?)"; but one should rather expect, in my opinion, a further word, e.g. **nbw* , "of Nabu", to have been present in the break, making the tag a reminder for a destination of the attached sealed container in the sphere of official affairs, as in the case of no. 43.

45. *ND* 2438 (and *ND* 2439).

Millard, *Iraq* 34, 132-133, Fig. 3a-b, Pl. LIIId,e,f = *Ep.Ar.* 163-164.

Assyrian/Aramaic

"Two ovoid bullae bearing a stamp seal impression on one face,

two lines of cuneiform and two lines of Aramaic on the other; a string hole runs horizontally through each" (Millard).

Transliteration

Assyrian	Aramaic
1. *bir-ti*	1. *byn ydy*[*'*]*,*
2. ʿÁʾ[[2?] *l*]*ìb-bi*	2. *wlbb'*

Translation

"(Protection of) the chest (=*lit.* 'between the arms') and the heart".

Notes. This brief Assyro-Aramaic bilingual text is surely of an apotropaic type, and not -as supposed by Millard- pertaining to the "ordinary administration of palace affairs", for "a clerk who could only understand one language or the other"[149]. The Assyrian text has, in fact, parallels in literature pertaining to demons and disease[150]. The Aramaic text, on the other hand, requires a correction in reading on Millard's and Vattioni's version (which has *byn yd z' wlbb'*, "between this side and the centre" /"tra questa mano e il cuore"): sign VI of line 1 must be viewed as a yod (cf. sign IV of the same line). In this way, one obtains (a) complete agreement with the Assyrian version; (b) a dual of the determined state, hitherto unattested for the noun *yd* in first millennium epigraphic Aramaic[151], which may thereupon be compared

149. *Iraq* 34, 133.

150. Cf. e.g. *CAD* B, 254, sub 3b.

151. Cf. *DISO*, 103-104, and see Part One, 2.3.d, above.

with the Bibl. Hebrew expression *bèn yādèka* of Zech. 13:6[152].

In conclusion, the bulla, in view of its contents but also of its seal bearing various emblems of Mesopotamian gods and finally of the string hole running horizontally, was no doubt an amulet of sorts, designed to be hung from the neck and worn on the region of the body to be preserved from illness -the one described by the double text itself. The cultural milieu thus evoked by this small shred of documentary evidence is, in my opinion, one of full and operating synchretism between the Assyrian and Aramaic-speaking element within the major cities of the empire in the 7th century B.C.

152. Cf. *HALAT*, 370a, with further parallels and interpretations.

C. A S S U R

46. *VA* 7496.

Lidzbarski, *AUA*, 15-16, Taf. II, 1 = Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 83-90 = *Ep.Ar.* 143.

Aramaic

Triangular corn loan docket; 4 lines on Obverse, 4 on Reverse, 1 on right-hand edge. Date: mid-7th century[153]. Photos: pl. XV,1-2.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. *š^{c}rn zy*
2. *'srslmḥ*
3. *^{c}l tqny br*
4. *nn'* 3,

Rev. 1. 6 *šhdn*
2. *mng'sr*
3. *bldn*
4. *ddbn*

R.H.E. 1. *blsr'ṣr*

Translation

"Barley, belonging to Aššur-šallim-aḫḫē, debited to Taqūni, son of Nanâ: 3 (*emārus*), 6 (*sāti*). Witnesses: Mannu-kī-Aššur, Bēl-iddina, Dad-ibni, Bēl-šar-usur".

153. Cf. Part One, fn. 206, on the date.

Notes. This document pertains to the same archive as nos. 47, 48, all relevant to loans of barley made by one Aššur-šallim-aḫḫē, assisted by a group of recurring witnesses (*mng'sr*, *bldn*, *ddbn*, *blsrṣr/blsr'ṣr*). All three loans lack any indication of interest, save for the "harvester clause" in no. 47: I suggest -as a mere possibility- that the lack of specific interest rates might have implied, in fact, a 1:1 rate[154], such as is indicated in Neo-Assyrian corn loans by the expression *ana mithar*[155]. For the units of measure, the way of writing the fractions of the *emārus*, i.e. the *sāti*, is the same as in nos. 3, 6, above (q.v.). The name *ddbn* has been last commented upon by S.A. Kaufman[156].

47. *VA* 7499

Lidzbarski, *AUA*, 15-16, Taf. II, 2 = *KAI*, 234 = Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 90-91 = *Ep.Ar.* 144.

Aramaic

Triangular corn loan docket; 4 lines on Obverse, 5 lines on Reverse, 1 line on L.H.E. Date: mid-7th century. Photo: pl. XV,3-4.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. *š[c]rn zy*
2. *s[?]rslmḥ*

154. Cf., contra, the lengthy but inconclusive attempts at explanation by Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 84-85.
155. Cf. J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 42, for the latter.
156. *Studies ... Finkelstein*, 121[20]; contra Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 89.

3. *[c]l 'kdy*
4. 3, 3

Rev. 1. *ḥṣd* 1[?]
2. *šhdn bldn*
3. *blsrṣr*
4. *mng'sr*
5. *tqn*

L.H.E. 1. *ddbn mng'sr*

Translation

"Barley, belonging to Aššur-šallim-aḫḫe, debited to Akkadayya: 3 (*emārus*), 3 (*sāti*); one harvester (as interest). Witnesses: Bēl-iddina, Bēl-šar-uṣur, Mannu-kī-Aššur, Taqūni, Dad-ibni, Mannu-kī-Aššur".

Notes. The so-called "harvester clauses", known also from Assyrian contracts, have been already encountered above, in no. 3[157]. Here, in Rev. 1 (cf. pl. XV,4) we might have *ḥṣd 1* (with *AUA*) or possibly *ḥṣdn* followed by a number to the far left. The writing of the name in Obv. 2, *srslmḥ*, is at variance with nos. 46 and 48 for the same individual: such a writing may be quoted as a case of elision of the initial aleph[158], but reservations on the present

157. Cf. *FNALD*, 44-45 for the condition that "the debtor should provide a given number of harvesters to assist at the harvest of the creditor's field". Cf. also Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 90.
158. Cf. Part One, 2.3.a, above; and cf. already P. Bordreuil, *Semitica* 23 (1973), 100, with reference to the parallel case of *srgrnr* in no. 58, below.

case as an actual linguistic marker have been expressed[159].

48. *VA* 7497.

Lidzbarski, *AUA*, 16-17, Taf. II, 3 = *KAI*, 235 = Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 92-93 = *Ep.Ar.* 145.

Aramaic

Triangular corn loan docket. Five lines on Obverse, four on Reverse. Date: mid-7th century. Photos: Pl. XV, 5-6.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. *šᶜrn zy*
2. *'srslmḥ*
3. *ᶜl sb'sr*
4. 4, 8
5. *b'drn*

Rev. 1. *yntn šhdn*
2. *blsr'ṣr*
3. *qbt*[??]*'š*
4. *lqp*

Translation

"Barley, belonging to Aššur-šallim-aḫḫē, debited to Šēpā-Aššur: 4

159. S.A. Kaufman, *Studies ... Finkelstein*, 121[20]: "The first letter is rather severely abraded, and shows traces of a diagonal that can only belong to an aleph. One suspects an error, or even one letter inscribed upon another". Cf., in fact, pl. XV, 3 with ibid., 1 and 5.

(*emārus*), 8 (*sāti*). He shall give it back on the threshing-floors. Witnesses: Bel-šar-uṣur, Qibit[?]-Ištar, Laqipu".

Notes. For the general context, cf. the two preceding documents. For *sb'sr* as transcription of Šēpā/ē-Aššur, cf. Part One, 2.3.a[160]. In Obv. 5, the expression *b'drn* corresponds fully to the Neo-Assyrian *ina adri/ina adrāti*, "on the threshing-floor(s)", i.e. "at threshing time"[161] cf. also no. 53, below. The name in Rev. 3 is extensively discussed by Lipiński[162]: this author reads *qbẏ'š* against Lidzbarski's *qbš'š*, and interprets the name as corresponding to Akk. Iqbi-Ištar. Cf. Pl. XV, 6. My preference still goes to Lidzbarski's view: " ... doch ist *qbs'š* schwer zu erklären. Am besten würde ein Taw passen, denn Namen, die aus *Qibīt* mit einem Gottesnamen gebildet sind, sind häufig ... Doch lässt sich ein Taw nicht annehmen"[163].

49. *VA* 7498.

Lidzbarski, *AUA*, 17-19 (also copy, p. 17), Taf. II,4 = *KAI*, 236 = Lipinski, *SAIO* I, 94-103 = *Ep.Ar.*, 146.

Aramaic

Triangular corn loan docket. Seven lines on Obverse, eight

160. Cf., previously, the comments by Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 92.
161. Cf. *CAD* A/1, 130b, for the semantics of the expression in Neo-Assyrian.
162. *SAIO* I, 93.
163. *AUA*, 17. Cf. *APN*, 184a, for the name Qibit-Ištar in contemporary cuneiform sources.

lines on Reverse. Date: 659 B.C. (cf. Rev. 1-2). Two stamp seals on top of tablet. Photo of Obverse: Pl. XVI, 1.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. *ḫtm. šn'<·>n'd b[r]*
2. *rsl. ḥz'n. 'glh*
3. *š^{c}rn 2. zy. 'lqb*
4. *šn'[n]ı'ı d. dnt. lqḥ*
5. *rbyh 1 b 1,5*
6. *wḥṣd. yrḥ*
7. *tṣrḥ*

Rev. 1. *l'm. šlm'sr*
2. *skl š[hdn]. ^{c}bd'*
3. *'dšy. ['ḫbn*
4. *srsrd. dd'*
5. *gbmr šhd*
6. *knny spr'*
7. *šmšdlh yhb*
8. *š^{c}ry'*

Translation

"Seal of Sîn-na'id, son of Rašîl, mayor of Ekallate. Two (*emārus*) of barley, belonging to Ilu-iqbi: Sîn-na'id has taken up (his) tablet. Its increase [=of the barley] is: 1 (*emāru*) to 1 (*emāru*), 5 (*sāti*) and a harvester. Month of TṢRḤ, eponymy of Silim-Aššur, the *šukallu*. Witnesses: ^{c}Abdâ, 'Ad-Šē, [A]ḫu-bāni, Šarru-ašaredu, Dadâ, Gabbu-amur. In front of Kanunayya, the scribe. Šamaš-dalaḫi will give the barley back".

Notes. Recent insights by various authors have taken this particularly interesting document out of its previous obscurity. Foremost, those by E. Lipiński[164]: in particular, the clarification of the second, partly erased, word in l. 2 as *ḥzn*, the perception of *lqḥ* in Obv. 4 as a verbal form (whereas Lidzbarski and *KAI* viewed it as a personal name), and an overall view of the document as basically different and more complex, in its formulae and underlying situation, than the remainder of the Assur Aramaic texts. Further, S.A. Kaufman[165] has suggested the reading of the name in Obv. 1 and 4 as *šnn'd* (previously: *šrn'd*), and the identification with a well-known Sîn-na'id, *ḫazannu* of Assur[166]. Consequently, and finally, I have elsewhere identified *'glh* with Ekallāte, a center very often paired with the city Assur in Neo-Assyrian titularies, royal texts, etc.[167].

164. *SAIO* I, 94 ff.

165. *Influences*, 103[64]. An accidental mark follows the n (cf. pl. XV, 7).

166. For a transliteration and translation of letters *ABL* 150 and *ABL* 551, written by Sin-na'id, ^{LÚ}*ḫa-za-nu ša* ^{URU}ŠÀ.URU (Mayor of Assur), cf. most recently, S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 327-328[610].

167. *OrAn* 16 (1977), 66: as specified ibid., *ḥzn 'glh* is a complex which cannot be based on the equation of *'glh* with Akk. *ekallu*, "palace", as held by Lipiński (*SAIO* I, 94, and also *Acta antiqua* 22 [1974], 381), due to the structural and historical connection of the title *ḫazannu* to the municipal authority in Neo-Assyrian times. No problems therefore arise for the title *ḥzn qryt'*, "mayor of the town", presented by the unilingual 'Caquot' tablet from the Neo-Babylonian period (first edited by A. Caquot, *Hommages ... Dupont-Sommer*, Paris 1971, 9-16; cf. most recently, Fales, *AION*, 38 [1978], 273-282, with bibliography). On the graphophonemics of *'glh* = Ekallāte, cf. Part One, p. 67, above.

Now, in the light of a clear "mayoral" presence in this text, the overall interpretation of the latter may be presented with less problematical and doubtful elements than hitherto envisaged. In my opinion, the basic point of the document lies in Obv. 4, i.e. in the information that the *ḫazannu* has "taken up" (*lqḥ*) the "binding legal document" (*dnt*) of the barley belonging to Ilu-iqbi - this meaning, presumably, that he was substituting himself to the original debtor[168]. And, to be sure, the presence of a "seal identification" (Obv. 1: *ḫtm* etc.) relevant to Sîn-na'id points, in itself, to the mayor as being the debtor, not the creditor of the loaned item, by analogy with Neo-Assyrian procedure[169]. Further, it may be useful to quote two deeds of Bēl-tarṣi-iluma, governor of Kalḫu in the 9th century, in which it is specified that this official settled debts concerning lower-ranking members of the palatial personnel[170]: these Neo-Assyrian cases may represent good parallels to the situation portrayed in our text.

If our reconstruction may be acceptable, therefore, the present corn loan docket would, in fact, represent a sort of *renewal* of the contract, with the *ḫazannu* substituting himself to

168. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 100, would view the Aramaic expression as a counterpart to the Akkadian *kanikam/ṭuppam leqû* - which is, however, not attested for Neo-Assyrian. Rather, the parallel to search for could be the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian *ṭuppu/egirtu/dannutu/kunukku ṣabātu*, "to take into safekeeping (said of documents)", following *CAD* Ṣ, 18b-19a. A different interpretation of this expression is, however, suggested by J.N. Postgate, *Iraq* 32 (1970), 147 ("to draw up", "to write" a tablet).

169. Cf. Postgate, *FNALD*, 35, 37.

170. *GPA*, nos. 90, 91.

the previous debtor: perhaps a new date, and maybe even new interest rates, marked this loan with regard to the previously contracted one. The former debtor might have been the *šmšdlh* mentioned on Rev. 7: and the expression *yhb š^{c}ry'* might imply the fact that this man was supposed to hand over the barley directly to the "mayor", so that the latter could benefit from the goods for which he had stipulated the contract.

Specific notations: the month name in Obv. 7, TṢRḤ (Lipiński: "the month of Purification") would seem to pertain to a local Aramaic calendar, similarly to the month name TRLT, attested in the unpublished mixed loan document *O.* 3656[171]; cf., however, the quaint shape of *ḥ* here, against ll. 1, 6 (pl. XV, 7). In Rev. 5, the repetition of *šhd* might underscore a difference in the legal "sides" to which two groups of witnesses participated: cf. no. 54, below, for a similar possibility. In Rev. 7, notice the use of the verb **yhb* in lieu of **ntn* of other corn loan documents from this and other proveniences[172].

50. *VA* 5831.

Lidzbarski, *AUA*, 19, Taf. II, 5 = Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 103-108 = *Ep.Ar.* 147.

Aramaic

Triangular docket: loan of silver. Five fingernail-marks on

171. E. Lipiński, *Acta antiqua*, 22 (1974), 383.

172. The alternance of the two verbs meaning "to give" in Aramaic is noticed for the statue of Tell Fekheriye by Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), 123.

top of the tablet: 5 lines on Obverse, 4 lines on Reverse. Photos: pl. XVI, 5-6.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. 8 *šql[n]*
2. *ksp zy blšy*
3. *ᶜl blzr brbᶜh*
4. *yrby yrḥ'*
5. *sm⌞n⌟h šhdn*

Rev. 1. *w'pldn*
2. *w'pld⌜r?⌝⌞y?⌟ b?*
3. *wydᶜl*
4. *wšgb*

Translation

"Eight shekels of silver, belonging to Balasî, debited against Bēl-zērî. It will increase by one-fourth. The month Šamanê/the eighth month. Witnesses: Apla-iddin, Aplad-erība(?), Yadaᶜ-'el, Śaga/ib".

Notes. There is little to add here to Lipiński's general discussion of the text[173]. The formula *brbᶜh yrby*, lit. "it will increase by its quarter", is a loan-translation of Neo-Assyrian (*kaspu*) *ana rabutti/u-šu irabbi*[174]. As for *yrḥ' smnh*, it is of course not the month Simānu[175], but indicates, with Lipiński, the month VIII; and,

173. *SAIO* I, 103 ff.

174. Cf. J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 40-41.

175. Vattioni, *Ep.Ar.*, 522.

while it is true that no "Neo-Assyrian pronunciation"[176] is attested for the eighth month of the calendar, ^{ITI}APIN, it may be surmised that what we have here is nothing other than a rendering of Neo-Assyrian **šamaniu*, "eighth"[177] -whether this was in fact the month name or simply used as an ordinal number[178]. In the Reverse, notice the multiple *w*'s, as in nos. 13 and 58, but here even preceding the name of the first witness (Rev. 1). On the personal names, it may be noted that the attestations in Rev. 1 and 2 present the interesting graphemic feature of a ligature between pe and lamed, which gives rise to a "crooked-S-type" figure in both cases. Further, on Rev. 2, it must be stated that the reading *'pld ⌜r⌟y⌞ b*[179] is far from certain: a variant suggestion might be *'pld ⌜d'z'⌝r'* (=Apladad-zērî).

51. *VA* 5832.

Lidzbarski, *AUA*, 20 (also copy, ibid.), Taf. II, 6 = Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 108-113 = *Ep.Ar.* 148.

Aramaic

Triangular silver loan document, damaged. Seal impression on

176. Or better, with *AHw.*, 63a, no "Lesung des Wortzeichens".

177. Cf. *AHw.*, 1019a.

178. *SAIO* I, 104-105: "It seems therefore that *samāne*, "eight", was the name used in Neo-Assyrian to designate this month". In a previous footnote (ibid., 104[4]), this author notices that *smnh* is also attested in the unpublished Brussels text *O.*3716, line 9.

179. *SAIO* I, 105.

U.E.: 5+6 ll. Date: mid-7th century. Photos: pl. XVI, 2-4.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. [*'r*]$b^{?c}t$ *šqln*
2. [*ksp zy* x $x^{?}$]*ysy.* ^{c}l
3. *'sy. brb*^{c}*h. yrbh*
4. *yrḥ' šb'*
5. *šhd ḥblkn*

Rev. 1. [*šh*]*d* [
2. *b* ⌜*š*$^{?}$⌝$b^{c?}$ x [x] ⌜*šhd*⌝
3. ⌜'⌝*pld*$^{?}$*d*$^{?}$ [x x]*šhd*
4. *prbḥr wmny*
5. *šhd mṣry br*
6. *srldr*

Translation

"[Fou]r$^{?}$ shekels [of silver belonging to ...] YSY, debited against 'SY. It will increase by one-fourth. The seventh month. Witness: Ḫabil-kēn; witness: [...; witness(?):] BŠB^{c}..; witness: 'PLDD [..]; witness: PRBḤR and Nanî; witness: Muṣurayyu, son of Šarru-lu-dāri".

Notes. In line 1, Lidzbarski's reading was [*tš*]^{c}t, "nine", whereas Lipiński suggests [*'r*]$b^{c}t$, or secondarily [*š*]$b^{c}t$. Judging from pl. XVI, 4, four graphemes before the (abraded) *t* are visible. In l. 2, nothing is really visible from the published photograph before]*ysy* (*SAIO* : s]*ysy*). For the formula in l. 3, cf. no. 50, above, noticing the variance in the third radical of the verbal root. The

month *sb'* is probably (in agreement with Lipiński, cit., 110) the reflex of the Akkadian numeral "7" (cf. *smmh*, no. 50). In Rev. 2, an upper right-hand chip - visible in the *AUA* photo, but ignored by Lidzbarski and Lipiński - yields the initial 2 signs of the line.

52. *VAT* 8724.

Freydank, *AoF* 2 (1975), 133-135 = *Ep.Ar.* 191 (cf. *OrNS* 48 [1979], 139)

Aramaic

Rectangular clay tablet, of greyish-brown colour, bearing the remnants of five horizontally written lines, and one laterally written (left-hand side, from bottom to top) on the Obverse, plus one line in much larger script on the Reverse. Date: mid-7th century. Photos: pl. XVII, 1-2 (not previously published).

Transliteration

Obv. 1. 10$^{?}$ + 4$^{?}$ ⌜*šql*⌝[*n (?)* n *šq*]⌜*l*⌝*n* ^{c}l *mšyh*
2. 1 *šql* ^{c}l *nny*
3. 1 *šql* $^{c?}l$ $k^{?}$*nny br nny*
4. 1 *šql* ^{c}l [ ]
5. 2 *šqln* ^{c}⌜*l*⌝[ ]

Side 1. [n]*šqln ḥzrn*

Rev. 1. x *šql*[*n?*] *knny*

Notes. This text was obviously of administrative nature: its general appearance and writing recall vaguely nos. 11 and 12,

above. The contents are constituted by a detailed list of payment in shekels: the total sum should be the one given right at the beginning, with the relevant number-graphemes (a "10" and four "ones") presenting shapes not too different from the ones to be found in the later Aramaic papyri from Egypt[180]. In view of this possible structure for the text, I have suggested a reading *šqln* in two occasions on Obv. 1, although hardly any of the relevant signs are actually legible on the copy. Still in line 1, *mšyh* should be considered the first of a group of personal names, indicating the individuals to whom -through the preposition *ʿl-* the *šqln* are attributed: perhaps one should here compare the Biblical name Miša'ēl[181], taking into account *-yh* as a predicative element, and *m-* for **mî* as in the Hebrew seal attestation *mky*[182]. In lines 2-3, cf. other Assur cases of *nny* and *knny*, resp. 51, Rev.4, and 49, Rev. 6, above. The *ḥzrn* in Side, 1, is taken by Freydank as a further personal name; but a participial form in the masculine plural from a root **ḥzr* is not to be ruled out[183]. In Rev. 1, there might have been a further number grapheme in initial position (perhaps "five"). Below this line, Freydank pointed out the presence of a few scratches in the clay, which Vattioni, on the other hand, makes out as letters: the reader is left to judge for himself from the photo now available (Pl. XVII, 2).

180. Cf. *AP*, *BMAP*, indexes, for a general outlook.

181. Cf. *HALAT*, 547b ("Who belongs to El?").

182. Cf. F. Vattioni, *Biblica* 50 (1969), 375:152, and this author's reference to ibid., 363:30, *mykyhw*.

183. Cf. **ḥzr*, "to return" in Middle Hebrew and Aramaic, also said of money: Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 446a-b.

D. GUZANA

53. *TH* 1.

Friedrich, *AfO Bh* 6, 71-72, Taf. 30 = Degen, *NESE* 1, 50-52 = Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 115-125 = *Ep.Ar.* 149.

Aramaic

Triangular corn loan docket, bearing 7 lines on Obverse, 7 lines on Reverse. Stamp seal impression on top. Date: post-canonical (cf. the eponyms of the cuneiform tablets from the same archive, dates of which are established by M. Falkner, *AfO* 17, 118-120). Tablet now lost: cf. copy by G.R. Meyer, *AfO Bh* 6, Taf. 30, and the photographs in *NESE* 1, Taf. IV (Abb. 7-10).

Transliteration

Obv. 1. [*š*]*ʿrn* 5
2. *l' lmnny ʿl*
3. *nbwdlh whddsmmy*
4. *hn lh ntn šʿry'*
5. *z*[?] *b'dr'*
6. *šʿ*[*ry' ly*]
7. *rb*[*wn*]

Rev. 1. *mn qrb mn*⌜*h*⌝[*m*[?]]
2. *šʿry' yntn*
3. *šḥdy*[']
4. *qyrḥ*

5. *zrᶜl*

6. *ḥzg*

7. *rᶜdd*

Translation

"Barley, 5 (*emārus*), belonging to 'El-mananî, (are debited) to Nabû-dalā and Hadad-šimanni. If he will give back that[?] barley on the threshing-floor, the bar[ley will be subject to no] increase. Whoever is closest among [them], will give back the barley. The witnesses: Qir-ahi, Zeraᶜ-il, Ḥazug, Riᶜ-Dad".

Notes. This document, shrouded by not a few obscurities in the versions of Friedrich, H. Jensen[184] and R. Degen has received significant improvements in the recent attempt by E. Lipiński. The present version will thus proceed from that of *SAIO* I, although it will be marked by a few specific differences.

Together with texts nos. 54-57, the document pertains to the archives of an individual named 'El-mananî, also known from the Neo-Assyrian deeds of post-canonical date discovered at Guzana/Tell Halaf[185]. In this light, the Guzana corpus may be viewed as allowing the opportunity (relatively unique for now[186]) to compare

184. In M. von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf. A New Culture in Oldest Mesopotamia*, London 1933, 320; French edition, *Tell Halaf. Une civilisation retrouvée en Mésopotamie*, Paris 1939, 361-362.

185. Cf. *AfO Bh.* 6, nos. 101, 102, 103, 105, 106.

186. I.e. with the sole exception of the less extended *mar šarri* bilingual corpus (nos. 3,6,7,9, above) -and until publication of the Aramaic and Assyrian deeds from the Brussels Museum, which also pertain to identical archives (perhaps still from Halaf or environs: cf. footnote 17, above).

the legal formulae and expressions in the two languages in use, as regards a single contextual framework. Thus, in Obv. 2, the initial *l* followed by the creditor's name, is clearly an indication of ownership, similarly to Ass. *ša*, as given in 'El-manani's loan-documents in cuneiform (cf. e.g. *TH* 102, Obv. 4-6: 8 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 5 ANŠE ŠE.BAR/ *ina* ĞIS.BÁN *ša* 8 *qa*/ *ša Ìl-ma-na-ni*, "8 shekels of silver, 5 *emārus* of barley at the *sutu* of 8 *qa*, belonging to 'El-mananî").

Similarly, in Obv. 4 ff., one must view the Aramaic formula as closely corresponding to the Assyrian ones in the cuneiform texts from Guzana: thus, *hn* must be surely made out -with Lipiński- as a counterpart of NA *šumma*, "if" (and not "siehe"/"ecco", with Friedrich, Degen, Vattioni). The following *lh*, on the other hand, is hardly justifiable as "the most common form of the negative adverb *lā*, 'not', whose final long *ā* is indicated by the mater lectionis *h*"[187]: foremost, because such a writing for the negation is not at all "common", in fact seems quite unusual in Northwest Semitic epigraphy of the 1st millennium B.C.[188]. But there is also a second reason, i.e. that a negation would not tally with the Neo-Assyrian parallels for the entire clause. These parallels, and esp. *TH* 101, show that the formula relevant to payment of debts "at the threshing-floor" (as in Obv. 5 of the present text) was only inserted in hypothetical clauses with p o s i t i v e consequences, i.e. relevant to *no increase* of the amount to be

187. *SAIO* I, 120.

188. Cf. *DISO*, 133, s.v. *l'*.

repaid: thus *TH* 101, 6-8 has: *ana* 1/2 GÍN-*šú* ˹GAL˺-*bi/ ina ad-ri*^{MEŠ}/ [ŠE.B]AR SUM-*an* ŠE.˹BAR˺ NU GA[L-*bi*], "(the silver) will increase by a half shekel; (if) he gives back the barley at the threshing-floor, the barley will *not* increase". In this light, *lh* may be up for two further interpretations: (1) as *l* + pronominal suffix in agreement with Friedrich's and Degen's views ("to/for him") -but the syntactic position of this complex before the verb would be quite unusual in this case; (2) as a particle appended to *hn* for additional meaning to the hypothetical clause, i.e. as part of a group *hn lh*, somewhat similarly (and perhaps merely as phonetic variant) to the *hn lw* known from Ya'udic and Imperial Aramaic[189]. With many reservations, I subject the latter solution as the most plausible one from the point of view of the overall meaning of the text. The following *ntn* can only be interpreted as a perf. peal, to be set in parallel with the many cases of *šwmma* + preterite tense in Neo-Assyrian legal speech[190]; and a negation must be integrated at the end of line 6, before the verbal form *yrbwn*[191].

189. Cf. Garbini, *AA*, 264; *DISO*, 136, for other interpretations. For Imperial Aramaic, cf. recently J.M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahikar*, Baltimore-London 1983, 50, 225, with references.

190. Cf. J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 208b, for an overview.

191. The reconstruction of this form is also due to Lipiński, against all previous authors: cf. no. 54, ll. 1-2 for another word-break. As for the z at the beginning of Obv. 5, the translation "that barley" is offered in *SAIO* on p. 118. On the other hand, Degen, *NESE* 1, 52, states that "z steht für *zy*", noting the writing *zly* for *zyly* in the Assur Ostracon, and translates " ... Gerste, die auf der Tenne ist". In view of the difficulties involved in regarding it either as a demostrative pronoun (concordances, graphemics), or as an abbreviation for *zy* (graphemics, overall syntax), I wonder whether this alleged z should not be considered as an abbreviative siglum of sorts, or as a faulty scribal attempt.

On the Reverse, against Friedrich's *mn qnbṣrnn*, Lipiński suggested *mn qrb mn˹t˺[']*, "(will increase) by the amount of (its) quantity", as a parallel to Neo-Assyrian *ana mitḫar*, "equally, at 100%"[192]. However, since in my opinion no actual increase of the debt is envisaged in the preceding line of text, the sentence in line 1 should preferably be connected to the part that follows. As I see it, then, the initial *mn* should represent the Aramaic indefinite pronoun ("who, whoever"); the following *qrb* might be taken as a West Semitic active participle, or alternatively as a loanword from Neo-Assyrian *qarbu/qurbu*, "at hand, present"[193]; while a further *mn* should be a partitive particle followed by a pronominal suffix, presumably of the 3rd person masc. plural. Tying up to the next line, one obtains: "Whoever is/will be at hand among them [=the two debtors] will give back the barley".

On the personal names *qyrḥ* and *r*^{c}*dd*, cf. Part One, 2.3.c, above, with references. The individual *zr*^{c}*l* is attested as ^{I}*Zir-'a-il* in various of the Guzana cuneiform deeds[194]. The witness *ḥzg* is also present in no. 57, below.

192. Cf. footnote 154, above. It may be noted in passing that *yrbwn mn qrb* in the alleged meaning "will increase by the equivalent of" is specified by Lipiński as representing "the first recognized occurrence of the Aramaic contractual formula" (sic).

193. Cf. *CAD* Q, 214 ff.

194. See *AfO* Beih 6, 82a.

54. *TH* 2.

Friedrich, *AfO Bh* 6, 74-75, Taf. 30 = Degen, *NESE* 1, 53-54, Taf. V (Abb. 11-14) = Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 125-132 = *Ep.Ar.* 150.

Aramaic

Triangular corn loan docket. Stamp seal on top; 4 lines on Obverse, 4 lines on Reverse. Date: post-canonical (cf. no. 53). Tablet now lost: cf. *AfO Bh* 6, Taf. 30, *NESE* 1, Taf. V, for copy and photographs, resp.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. ⌜š⌝^{c}*rn l'lm*

2. *nny* ^{c}*l mty*

3. *ḥ⌜bl⌝n 2 b*$^{?}$ 4

4. *b⌜sb⌝*^{c}

Rev. 1. *šhd ⌜pd⌝y*

2. *šhd* [x] *dlr*$^{?}$*n*

3. *šhdn mt*^{c}*<š>y*

4. *w⌜''⌝d*^{c}*r*

Translation

"Barley, belonging to 'El-mananî, debited against MTY. The obligation is: 2 (*emārus*) into 4 in the seventh month. Witness: PDY; witness:[ ]DLR$^{?}$/D$^{?}$N; witnesses: Mate^{c}-<š>ē and Addu-^{c}ari".

Notes. A further document of the 'El-mananî archive: the following are the main points of variance on the recent interpretative achievements by E. Lipiński. In Obv. 3, the emendation of ḥeth to

yod in first position, as effected by Lipiński, may be questioned in itself; further, there does not seem to be enough space to reconstruct a verbal form *yrbwn* before the number graphemes. In my opinion, maintaining initial heth and final nun, the abraded space (where Friedrich posited ⌜*ṣd*⌝) could be filled by bet and lamed, whereby *ḥ⌜bl⌝ n* would be obtained -as the earliest occurrence of an attested loanword from Akkadian to Aramaic, *ḫubullu* > *ḥbwl'*, "interest, obligation", etc.[195]. The form attested here with a plural marker *-n*, might be referred back to the Neo-Assyrian rendering of the word, *ḫabullu*, which is often given in the plural form[196]. Agreeing with Lipiński, on the other hand, the end part of the line would have borne the indication of the rates: the interest is here 100 %. I understand the month *šb*^{c} to be the equivalent of Akkadian Tašrītu (=VII): cf. an 'Assyrianizing' version of the same month name in no. 51, above[197].

On the Reverse, the names of the first two witnesses, *pdy* and [x]*dlr*$^{?}$*n*, are discussed at length in *SAIO* I, 129-131: for the second of these, I would rather suggest a final element *-ld'n*, i.e. a verbal predicate formed by the imperfect preceded by *l-* from the

195. Cf. Kaufman, *Influences*, 56.

196. See *CAD* Ḫ, 21b; J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 192a.

197. In any case, the reading of *šb*^{c} is fairly clear, and Lipiński's comment that "the last sign of the line is a ṭ, as an internal point distinguishes it from ^{c}ayin" (p. 129) seems erroneous and unjustified -also, since *bšb*^{c} is this author's rendering of the line on p. 126.

root **dyn*, "to judge"[198]. The last two witnesses, on the other hand, are unified under the heading *šhdn* PN_1 *w* PN_2: this may be justified by the fact that they were the witnesses on 'El-manani's side, differently from the first couple (cf. no. 49, above). If so, one would be obliged to view their names as the alphabetic counterparts of some recurrent names of witnesses from the cuneiform deeds of the Guzana archive: resp. *Ma-te(-e')-Se-e'* and *10(=Adad)-ḫa-ri*[199]. From here stems my emendation of the name in Rev. 3 to *mt*^{c}*<š>y*, which, although hypothetical, is to some extent upheld by the fact that Mate^{c}-Sē occurs as witness in *all* of 'El-manani's contracts in cuneiform, i.e. even in *TH* 102, where one finds a ^{I}*Ma-te-e'*[ ]*-i* to be restored to ^{I}*Ma-te-e'* [*-Si*]*-i*[200]. As for the name in Rev. 4, an equation with the cuneiform attestation *10(=Adad)-ḫa-ri* is possible by postulating a derivation of all writings from the root **ġwr* (cf. Part One, pp. 73-74, above).

55. *TH* 3.

Friedrich, *AfO Bh* 6, 75-76, Taf. 30 = Degen, *NESE* 1, 54-55 = Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 132-133 = *Ep.Ar.*, 151.

Aramaic

Triangular corn-loan docket, very badly damaged; remnants of 5 lines on the Obverse, 2 on the Reverse. Stamp seal on top. Date:

198. Cf. Zadok, *WSB*, 92-93 for contemporary cuneiform attestations.

199. Cf. resp. *AfO Bh* 6, 80b, 79a.

200. *TH* 102: Rev. 6; cf. the copy on pl. 18. For the root *mt*^{c} and the divine name *Se'/Sē/Si'*, cf. text no. 29, above.

cf. no. 53. No extant photograph of this text.

Transliteration

Obv. 1. *š*^{c}*rn* 2[+ *n*$^{?}$]
2. [*z*]*y* *'lm*˹*n*˺*n*[*y*]
3. *q*$^{!}$*d* [*m* x x x x]
4. *wsq*˹*l*˺[x x x x]
5. *š*[^{c}*ry'* ( )]

Rev. 1. [x x x x]*ḫ*[*bl*]*n*$^{?}$
2. [ ]
3. *ly*[*rbwn(?)*]
4. *š*[*hd* x x x]
(rest lost)

Notes. The present reconstruction of this further text from 'El-manani's archive differs quite markedly from all previous ones. It is, obviously, quite hypothetical, being based on integrations and one emendation, proceeding from the sole remaining testimonial of the original document, the copy by G.R. Meyer in *AfO Bh* 6, Taf. 30. As noticed by Lipiński[201] in this text the "genuine Aramaic *'lamed* of ownership'" which precedes the creditor's name (cf. no. 53, above) is substituted by a *zy*, "which reflects the Akkadian construction with *ša*" (Obv. 2). In this light, it does not seem too rash to postulate that the scribe may have elsewhere abandoned the usual formulae, and made use -in particular- of a further loan-translation for the expression "debited against" from Akk. *ina*

201. *SAIO* I, 132.

pāni, instead of the normal preposition *ᶜl* (cf. Part One, p.86): this calque would be represented by *qdm* in l. 3 (the mem, not really visible on Meyer's copy, was surmised by Friedrich, and is taken up by all later authors, in the reading *'dm*). Thus, after "barley, 2 [+ n] (*emārus*) belonging to 'El-manani, debited against ...", we may expect the name of one of the debtors at the end of Obv. 3; while a second debtor should have been indicated by the *wsgl*[of line 4 - i.e. with *w*, "and", plus *sgl*. At this point, line 5 could have held the beginning of a formula such as one finds in no. 53, Obv. 6. On the Reverse of the text, the two remaining graphs in line 1 suggest the *ḫbln* of no. 54, above; and lines 2 and 3 might have held a formula of repayment, perhaps presenting [*b'dr'*], "at the threshing-floor" in l. 2, implying no increase in the barley, as indicated by the suggested *ly*[*rbwn*], "will not increase" of line 3.

An attempt at translating the entire text would then yield the following result: "Barley, 2 [+ n] (*emārus*), belonging to 'El-manani, debited against ... and Sgl ... The barley: [n into n'] (are its) obligations. [At the threshing-floor(?)] it will not [increase]. Wit[ness(es): ... " (rest lost).

56. *TH* 4.

Friedrich, *AfO Bh* 6, 75-76, Taf. 31 = Degen, *NESE* 1, 55-56 = Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 135-139 = *Ep.Ar.*, 152.

Aramaic

Triangular corn-loan docket, complete but with abrasions and

cracks on the surface; 5 + 5 lines. Date: cf. no. 53. Cf. *AfO Bh* 6, Taf. 31, *NESE* 1, Abb. 15-18, for copy and photographs, resp.

Notes. Despite its length, this text is, in my opinion, beyond the possibility of being recovered to Assyro-Aramaic studies: a situation which is also shared by no. 57, below. The reason for this view is that the document that it has been subjected to three attempts at interpretation, resp. by Friedrich, Degen, and Lipiński, and these three authors show serious divergences -too serious to be harmonized in a "final" attempt. Leaving thus the latter to others (perhaps with the aid of the Brussels texts to be published in the near future), I limit myself here to a synoptical presentation of the individual versions, as follows:

	Friedrich	Degen	Lipiński
Obv. 1.	*šᶜrn. l'lmmnẏ*	*šᶜrn l'lmmn[y]*	*šᶜrn. l'lmmnẏ*
2.	*'l ṅdᶜ?*	*ᶜl nd/rbᶜ*	*'l nrbᶜ[l] ....?*
3.	*rby[h ...]ẏṅ*	*rby.ᶜ[....]d*	*rbyh.b[..b'd]r*
4.	II [....]*ṫḥ*	*..n/st*	*š[ᶜry']ẏṅṫ[n]*
5.	[....] . *ʾlʾ*	.. *'l*	*[yrḥ] b'l'*
Rev. 1.	.. *h*	*šḥdn.* ᶜ*q*	*šḥdn. [n]ᶜq*
2.	*..ṣ ḳšn*	.. *bn I .* *šᶜr*	*ʾḏnh. štr*
3.	*ẏṙbṅ . ẏrbn*	.... *.yrbn*	*ʾḏrn. yrbn*
4.	*ṡm'kl . ṁlẏk*	.. *kl. ml*	*ʿsʾ ʿmʾ'kl. mlẏk*
5.	*mnn*	*mnn*	*mnn*

As may be seen, the contents of the first line indicate

clearly the fact that the document concerns again the barley of 'El-manani: from here onward, however, all solutions and interpretations are highly conjectural, starting from the unusual *'l* instead of the expected *ᶜl*, which Lipiński would make out as an "*'el* of recipiency"[202]. For the rest, I regard the alleged month-name *b'l'* of Lipiński's version as a figment of imagination[203]; and am not even totally sure that the Reverse of the text was entirely dedicated to the witnesses' names, in view of the suspicious *yrbn* of Rev. 3. For all I know -and in the lack of a parallel onomastic attestation in the cuneiform archive of the 7th century from Tell Halaf/Guzana- the *mnn* of Rev. 5 might even represent a common noun (masc. plural), and not a name[204].

202. *SAIO* I, 133.

203. *SAIO*, 136: "Line 5 shows traces of a possible *b* followed by *'l'*. Only a date formula can be expected in this part of the deed, i.e. an indication of the eponymate or of the month in which the lending of barley had taken place. The letters do not correspond to any known name of a late Assyrian eponym or to any Assyrian or Aramaic name of a month. However, the name of a month *Ba-la-e*, *Ba-la-i*, *Ba-la-i-iḫ*, occurs in the cuneiform tablets of Alalaḫ. The signs *e*, *i*, and *iḫ* express the glottal stop. This name could eventually correspond to our *b'l'*, which should be preceded by the word *yrḥ*. No traces were left of the latter, but there was enough space for that word at the beginning of line 5". I need not pursue this example of "creative" philology deep into the recesses of the etymological attribution: the reader is referred directly to the original.

204. Of course, an individual *Ma-na-a-nu* is known from Tell Halaf, but only from the 9th century texts of that site (*TH* 21:8). For *mnn* as a possible plural of a noun, cf. *DISO*, 158, s.v. $mnḥ_2$.

57. *TH* 5.

Friedrich, *AfO Bh* 6, 77-78, Taf. 31 = Degen, *NESE* 1, 56 = Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 140-142 = *Ep.Ar.*, 153.

Aramaic

Triangular corn(?)-loan docket, complete but with many abrasions and cracks on the surface. Six lines on the Obverse, 2 on the Reverse. Stamp seal on top. Copy and photographs: *AfO Bh* 6, Taf. 31, and *NESE* 1, Abb. 19-22, resp.

Notes. The situation of this text is similar, if not worse, than that of no. 56, with regards to the possibility for its recovery; I thus will again limit myself to a synoptical look at the three previous attempts at reading and interpretation:

	Friedrich	Degen	Lipiński
Obv. 1.	*ṧ..n [l'lm]nnẏ*	*.. b.ṅ.*	*ṡ[ᶜ]ʳʿn [l'lm]nn[y]*
2.	*....ᶜᶜ/ṭ .ḋẇy ;̇l*	*....n*	*ż ẏ [ᶜd m]ᶜṭ [']ḋṙ yḥb*
3.	*hwd ...d ᶜd*	*h.d ....l*	*hdd [smn]ẏ ᶜb̈d l*
4.	*.q'yt ẇḋẇyt*	*..y t l...*	*[s]pr 'yt wdnyt*
5.	*.ᶜr . d..*	*.ryᶜ? l*	*[š̌,ᶜry; l*
6.	*š̈d ...*	*šr/d*	*š̌r*
Rev. 1.	*d̈z̈g*	*ḫzg*	*ḫzg*
2.	/	III III I	III III I

It is possible, with Friedrich and Lipiński, that this text represented a further 'El-manani document; also, that it was

concerned with corn. Nothing, however, can actually and with a minimum of confidence be asserted as regards the central lines from the copy and photographs, *pace* Lipiński; and this author's hypothesis that *šr ḥzg* in Obv.6-Rev.1 is "a translation of the Akkadian title *šarru dannu* and must designate the Assyrian king"[205] is highly improbable, specifically in view of the personal name *ḥzg*, which refers to a witness, occurring in no. 52, above. In brief, in my opinion, this text is lost to scholarship -at least, in the present stage of the physical documentation available for it.

205. *SAIO*, 140.

E. UNKNOWN PROVENANCE

58. *A.O.* 25.341.

Bordreuil, *Semitica* 23 (1973), 95-102, Pl. I-V; Lipiński, *Acta antiqua* 22, 1974 [1976], 377-379; Fales, *AION* 35 (1976), 541-548; Kaufman, in *Studies ... Finkelstein* (1977), 119-127. Cf. also F. Vattioni, *OrNS* 48 (1979), 142 (=*Ep.Ar.* no. 180); and the catalogue *Naissance de l'écriture. Cuneiformes et hiéroglyphes*, Paris 1982, 113 no. 74 (photograph of Obv.).

Aramaic: rectangular clay tablet, 6,5 x 4,2 cms, bearing 7 + 10 lines of alphabetic script on Obverse and Reverse. Three stamp seal impressions on Obv., after line 3. Record of judicial settlement: eponymy of Aššur-garū'a-nēri(= 635 B.C., according to M. Falkner, *AfO* 17 [1954-56], 118).

Transliteration

Obv. 1. *klbyd'l w ʿzrn'l*

2. *'mhm šmw*

3. *qdm nsḥnghy*

SEALS

4. *bl'm srgrnr*

5. *l'm ḥṭʿm tḥm*

6. *wšqlw klbyd'l*

7. *wʿzrn'l*

Rev. 1. *ksp šql ⌜ṅ⌝[ ]*
2. *wzwz lnsḫnghy*
3. *wšmw šlm bynyhm*
4. *mn ᶜl mn yšb*
5. *[ḫy]y šhr wḫyy*
6. *[ml]k' šhdn*
7. *⌜ṅš⌝[ḫ]⌜r⌝yb wᶜwyr*
8. *w'drmny*
9. *w[šm]šyb*
10. *w'l[nt]n*

Translation. "Kul-ba-yad-'El and ᶜAzrana-'El placed their boundary-stone in front of Nasuḫ-nughî in the eponymy of Aššur-garū'a-nēri. According to the boundary-stone, he gave a decision on the boundary-line. And Kul-ba-yad-'El and ᶜAzrana-'El paid (as compensation) ... shekels and one-half to Nasuḫ-nughî, and established reciprocal judicial peace. Whoever returns in suit against the other, (may he be cursed) by the life of Śehr and by the life of the King. Witnesses: NSḪ?RYB, ᶜAwīr, Addu-remanni, ŠM?ŠY?B, 'LNT?N".

Notes. This version is virtually identical to the one presented by this writer in *AION* 35, which represented an elaboration upon the results obtained by P. Bordreuil and E. Lipiński in the works quoted above. However, given that a further version (by S.A. Kaufman) has since been published, it seems worthwhile to enter once more into a full discussion, line by line, of the document under examination.

Line 2 of the Obverse represents the first crucial point of the text. P. Bordreuil understood *'mhm* as "leur affaire(?)" with reference to the Akkadian verbal and nominal attestations *awû* and *amatu*, but with no conclusive interpretation. E. Lipiński viewed *'mhm* as representing **'mh*, "cubit", in the construct plural ("leurs coudées"). For an objection to this interpretation, cf. Kaufman, 122[206]. Kaufman himself suggested -in the body of his article- that *'m* should be viewed as an abbreviation of **'mr* ("made their declaration") in connection with the suggested reduction of *l'mr* to *l'm* in Obv.5; however, in the footnotes (fn.28) the same author conceded that "...it would be best to relate *'m* to the Babylonian use of *ummu*, 'mother', as something like an original deed of purchase in real-estate transactions". Now, *'m* as corresponding to an Akkadian technical term *ummu* is exactly the interpretation offered in *AION* 35: save for the fact that -as clarified on that occasion- *ummu* (also logographically written, AMA) may be traced in not a few cases back to Neo-Assyrian land-sale documents also, and proves therein to have a genuinely topographical meaning, such as "boundary-stone" or "-marker"[207].

Line 3: it is generally agreed that a personal name is attested here (against Bordreuil's "gouverneur du district"): cf. no. 13, above, for a similar onomastic formation. It is also clear that Nasuḫ-nughî cannot possibly have been the "judge", but only a

206. "True, *'ammā*, 'cubit' frequently takes the masculine plural ending, but the expected form is *'myhm*, and the omission of the plural marker yod before the suffix is unparalleled".

207. Cf. more recently F.M. Fales, *Dialoghi di archeologia*, 3 (1981), 71, "demarcazione (fondiaria)".

party to the settled dispute: cf. the discussion on this point by Kaufman, (122[32]), and notice also the Neo-Assyrian evidence on the figure of the "judge" brought forth by K. Deller[208].

Line 5, after the chronological setting, has also been subjected to a variety of interpretations. Bordreuil: "pour l'affaire(?), il (scil. "le gouverneur du district") a fait agréer la limite"; Lipiński: "l'éponyme, il a fait agréer une limite"; Kaufman: "as follows: 'Here, eat bread (*l'ḥm*)' ". In a word-by-word analysis, I believe, with Bordreuil, that *l'm* can only refer to one and the same *'m* of l. 2. A reference to the "eponym" is ruled out, since *limmu*, *li'mu* is not a professional qualification in itself (Aššur-garū'a-nērī was a *rab šaqê*[209]): it is thus terminologically impossible to envisage the "eponym"'s physical presence as judge in the dispute. Finally, Kaufman's *l'mr* > *l'm* as a direct speech marker (discussed extensively by this author on p. 121) is certainly not impossible, since the Neo-Assyrian exemplars of records of judicial decision present brief dialogical parts as well, but it is certainly *difficilis*. As for *ḥṭ^{c}m*, while it is certainly true that the verb **ṭ^{c}m* means, in itself, "to taste, to eat" with Kaufman, and that it is hard to arrive at other meanings on the sole basis of a fragmentary passage in the "Assur ostracon" (*KAI* 233:8), it is on the other hand possible to postulate - proceeding from the p r e s e n t passage - that the verbal form represented a loan-translation from Ass. *ṭēmu šakānu*, "to give an

208. K. Deller, *Die Rolle des Richters im neuassyrischen Prozessrecht*, Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra, VI, Milano 1970, 639-653.

209. Cf. M. Falkner, *AfO* 17 (1954-56), 102.

opinion, advice, decision"[210], with the Akkadian > Aramaic loanword *ṭēmu* > *ṭ^{c}m*[211] representing the indispensable cornerstone for the creation of this denominative meaning. Finally, against Kaufman, I have no fundamental doubts on the third-to-last letter as <*t*> ; my collation of the cast[212] has confirmed what is visible on the photograph[213], i.e. that one has to deal with a taw with a very low short stroke, beginning at a juncture with the vertical[214]. In conclusion, my version of this passage concerns (agreeing with Bordreuil and Lipiński) the positive response to a specific situation in real estate, physically and juridically considered, which is created in l. 2 by the two individuals Kul-ba-yad-'el and ^{c}Azrana-'el: but the positive response is given (in agreement with Kaufman) by the individual Nasuḫ-nughî as "opposing" contractual party, not as judge between the two. The terms *'m* and *tḫm* - "boundary-stone" or "boundary-marker" and "limit, border, boundary-line", resp.- which are both loanwords from Neo-Assyrian land-sale documents, define the terms of the case and its solution; while no juridical and practical sense whatsoever is yielded, in my opinion, by Kaufman's "Here, eat bread".

210. Of course, in Egyptian and Biblical Aramaic *ṭēmu šakānu* is represented by *šm ṭ^{c}m*, as recalled by P.E. Dion, *Aramaic Words for "Letter"*, *Semeia* 22 (1981), 79. This author however notes ibid. that "to taste" is a very rare value in Imperial Aramaic against the quantity of meanings shared with Akkadian *ṭēmu*.

211. For which cf. Kaufman, *Influences*, 109.

212. Courtesy of Dr. P. Bordreuil, to whom I am very grateful.

213. *Semitica* 23, pl. I facing p. 102.

214. Cf. Part One, 3.2. for the characteristics of taw in this text.

Rev. 3. After the indication of the sum paid as compensation to the opposing party for his positive response on the localization of the boundary in the (newly colonized or newly obtained?) neighbouring plot(s), the formula in this line represents a precise calque of the Neo-Assyrian *šulmu ina birtešunu issakanū*, such as may be found e.g. in *TH*, no. 106 = *FNALD*, no. 47:14. Cf. also no. 60, below, for *šlm*.

Rev. 4–6. As noticed by Kaufman (124ff), two distinct calques are present here: *mn ʿl mn yšb* reflects *mannu ina muḫḫi*[215] *manni ibbalakkatūni*, "whoever shall contravene against the other", although *yšb* rather recalls Neo-Assyrian *tuāru* (a verb which is also frequently attested in penalty clauses), "to return (in suit)", "to go back (on the agreement)". Lines 5–6 in themselves, finally, closely recall the formula to be found in *TH*, no. 107, Obv. 9–10, *balāṭu ša šarri ša mār šarri ina qātā<šu> uba'ūni*.

Rev. 7. The last name here is probably to be read *ʿwyr*: cf. Hebr. *ʿăwîr*, "blind", Neo-Assyrian *A-u-i-ra-a*[216].

59. Private ownership[217]

J.N. Postgate, *Iraq* 35 (1973), 34–35, Pl. XII.

Assyrian

Triangular corn-loan docket, fragmentary. Remnants of 8 lines,

215. Not *ina eli* (Kaufman): cf. *CAD* N, 13b. Cf. also Part One, p. 85.

216. Cf. Fales, *CCENA*, 23:20; Zadok, *WSB*, 125.

217. Peter Franke; I am very grateful to his daughter Sabina for allowing me to check the original (Hamburg, VII/85).

written around the sealing, or on "long" axis (cf. no. 15, above). No date.

T.E. 1. [NA_4.KIŠ]IB ^{I}PAP-*i*[*a*?-AD]

Obv. 1. ˹A˺ ^{I}*Se-bi-na*-[x (x x)]

2. ^{I}10-*na-dan*!? P[AP 2]

3. ^{URU}BAN-*a-a*

4. 10 ANŠE ^{ŠE}PAD^{MEŠ} SAG.D[U]

5. sa ^{I}KASKAL-*a-a*

6. IGI ^{I}PAP-*iá*-AD

Rev. 1. [IGI ^{I}10]-*na-dan*!?

(remainder of Obv. lost)

Translation

"Seal of Aḫiia-abi, son of Sebīna- ..., and Adad-nadan?, a total of two, (from) the town of Qaštu. Ten *emārus* of barley, capital sum, belonging to Ḫarranayyu, (are) at the disposal of Aḫiia-abi, and [Adad]-nadan? ....."

Aramaic

On left-hand side of the Obverse, from top to bottom, three alphabetic signs, which could represent the last word of an epigraph, perhaps beginning -as no. 13, above- on the "top" end even continuing on the left-hand side of the Reverse. In the light of this hypothesis, I offer the following reconstruction of the text:

[*šʿryn zy ḥrny ʿl* II *mn* (??)] *qšt*

Translation

"[Barley, of Ḫarrānay, debited to 2 (persons) from (? ?)] Qaštu".

Notes. This text, fragmentary as it is in the two versions, is of particular interest, since it represents a bilingual deed closely connected to the still unpublished collection of (mainly monolingual) Aramaic and Assyrian tablets from the Royal Museums of Brussels, and in particular to the archive of Ḫarranayyu therein. This conclusion, which I had reached independently, on the basis of random notations on the Aramaic Brussels text given by E. Lipiński in various articles[218], has been recently confirmed in a paper by P. Garelli[219]. At any rate, our text proves by itself to pertain to a West Semitic linguistic and cultural milieu: cf., on this count, the personal name *Se-bi-na-*[, which could be related to Bibl. Hebr. *š^{e}ban-yāh(û)* and *š^{e}bna$^{('/h)}$* 220.

In itself, the Aramaic epigraph preserves clearly the name of the town from which the two debtors originated, ^{URU}BAN = alphabetic *qšt*. As stated above, however, it is possible to infer that -

218. See Part two, F, below, for a list of the sources used.

219. P. Garelli, *Les archives inédites d'un centre provincial de l'empire assyrien*, paper read at the XXX R.A.I. (Leiden 1983), and quoted by the author's kind permission. Garelli states that URU.BAN is attested in the cuneiform Brussels texts *O.*3693 and *O.*3699; the former tablet, bearing the name Ḫarranayyu, would date from 658 B.C. (cf. Part One, 3.3).

220. M. Noth, *IPN* 258a; cf. also *šbnyw*, in M. Heltzer - M. Ohana, *The Extra-Biblical Tradition of Hebrew Personal Names*, Haifa 1978, 68 and fn. 561.

similarly to no. 15, above- the triangular corn-loan docket written on the "long" axis allowed for a more extended epigraph in Aramaic than has come down to us: thence our reconstruction, which the foreseen publication of the Brussels Ḫarranayyu texts might go some way in confirming.

60. Manchester Museum.

T. Fish (and W. von Soden), *MCS* 2 (1952), 19; A.R. Millard, *Iraq* 34 (1972), 134-137, Figs. 6-7, Plate LIV:c. Cf. F. Vattioni, *OrNS* 48 (1979), 140 (=*Ep.Ar.* 167).

Assyrian

Tablet, written on "long" axis, complete: 16 lines. Three seal impressions on Obverse. Receipt (cf. Part One, 1.1.). Date: eponymy of Nabú-tapputi-illak (=617 B.C., according to M. Falkner, *AfO* 17, 119).

Obv. 1. NA$_4$.KIŠIB ^{I}*Ḫa-za-a*-DINGIR ÌR *šá* ^{I}*Ia-di*-DINGIR
2. KÙ.BABBAR *ša* ^{I}*Ḫa-za-a*-DINGIR
3. *šá ina* IGI $^{I.d}$PA-*za-qip*-SIG
(seals)
4. *ú-sa-lim* ^{I}*Na-ni-i* ŠEŠ-*šú*
5. *a-na* ^{I}*Ḫa-za*-DINGIR *ú-ta-tír*
6. 1 1/2 GÍN-*šú*$^{!}$ *la re-ḫi šùl-mu*
7. *ina bir-te*$^{!}$(copy ZU)-*šú-nu mám-ma* <*TA$^{!}$> *mám-ma*^{ma}
8. NU KA.KA *šá* GIL-*u-nu Aš+šur u* ^{d}UTU
9. *lu-u* EN *de-ni-šú e-gír-tú ḫa-rím*$^{!?}$*-tú*$^{!?}$

10. *šum*$_4$ *-ma ina še-er-tú ina li-diš e-gir-tú*
11. *TA É ^{I}Ḫa-za-a-DINGIR *TA É.EN^{MEŠ} -šú
12. *tu-ṣa-a šá ma-ra-qu ši-i*
13. ^{ITI}GU$_4$ *lim-mu* $^{I.d}$PA-*tap-pu-ti*-DU
14. IGI ^{I}*Gu-rù* IGI ^{I}*Man-nu*-SILIM IGI ^{I}SILIM.DINGIR
15. IGI ^{I}*Ma-zi-i* IGI ^{I}*Pal-ṭi*-10.UMUN
16. IGI $^{I.d}$UTU$^{?}$ *-zi$^{!}$-qu*

Translation

"Seal of Ḫaza-il, slave of Iadi-il. The silver of Ḫaza-il, which was debited to Nabû-zāqip-enši: he has settled (it), (and) Nanî his brother has given (it) back to Ḫaza-il. Neither a shekel nor a half shekel of it is left, there is a settlement between them. Nobody will dispute with anybody else; whoever is in opposition -may the gods Aššur and Šamaš be his adversaries in court. The deed is (henceforth) locked up; if at any time (=*lit.* tomorrow or the day after tomorrow) the deed should emerge from the house of Ḫaza-il or from the house of his lord, it is to be smashed to bits". Date and witnesses.

Aramaic

On L.H.E., beneath line 16 of the cuneiform text, 12 alphabetic graphs on two "lines":

spr šlm zy

ḥz'l

Translation

"Document of settlement, of Ḫazā-'el".

Notes. The present Assyrian text marks the conclusion of a silver loan, contracted by Nabû-zāqip-enši from Ḫazā-'el: it is specified that the entire amount has been repaid[221], and that the situation is settled and closed[222]. In line 9, as stated in Part One, 1.3., the last word has been variously read[223], but could be *ḫa-rím$^{!?}$-tú$^{!?}$*, "placed in confinement, locked up"[224]: this expression should presumably be related in a direct fashion to the following clause, in which it is specified that, should the deed "come out" of the

221. Line 6 is not to be translated "Not a shekel and a half is left", with A.R. Millard, loc. cit., 136: cf. K. Deller, *WZKM* 57 (1961), 41 - 42, for a similar use of two distinct numbers, one greater and one smaller, to specify that "nothing" is left.

222. For the penalty clause in lines 8-9, involving the gods as "judicial adversaries", cf. recently also the bilingual text from Tell Fekheriye (*STF*, 14, 23 : *Adad qardu lū bēl dēnišu / hdd gbr lhwy qblh*).

223. *AHw.*, 190 reads *ḫa-ni-tú*; but cf. Millard, loc. cit., 136, for a criticism. Millard himself reads ZÁḪ$^{!at!}$ = *ḫalqat*, "(the deed) is annulled", but the signs do not really justify this interpretation. In any case, cf. J.N. Postgate, *FNALD*, 32, for the translation "the contract is lost", which fits more precisely the meaning of *halqat*.

224. The reconstructed term might be viewed as a possible Aramaic loanword in Neo-Assyrian from the basic meaning of **ḥrm* in West Semitic. However, cf. *AHw.*, s.v. *ḫarmu*, for the Old Assyrian meaning of "locked in the envelope".

house of the creditor or of Yadi^{c}-'el, his master[225], it is to be smashed[226].

The Aramaic text on the tablet is brief, and poses no particular problems of interpretation. The term *spr*, known only from this text for the Assyrian-Aramaic phase[227] is to be understood as "deed, document" as in the later attestations of Imperial Aramaic[228]. In this particular context, the next word, *šlm*, should probably mean "settlement" (of the loan), in some relation to the Assyrian verb *šalāmu* of l. 4 (*ussalim*, "he has settled the debt "): although of course, it might alternatively refer to the wider conceptual framework of "(judicial) peace, settlement" which is also present in the Assyrian deed through the formula *šulmu ina birtešunu* of ll. 6-7: cf. no. 58, above.

61. National Museum Copenhagen no. 8612.

Th. Jacobsen, *CTNMC* no. 68; Postgate, *FNALD*, no. 18. Cf. F. Vattioni, *OrNS* 48 (1979), 145 (*Ep.Ar.*, no. 274).

Assyrian

Rectangular conveyance-type tablet, relevant to a division of inheritance. The text opens with the indication of the seal of an

225. The sign-complex É.EN^{MEŠ} is to be understood as equivalent to E.EN, i.e. *bīt bēli*: cf. recently S. Parpola, *LAS* II.

226. For this Neo-Assyrian usage, cf. Part One, fn. 31.

227. Cf. Millard, *Iraq* 34, 137.

228. Cf. Muffs, *Studies*, 229b with references.

individual, *La-tur*-MAN-*Aš-šur*,[229] presumably the father, described as "owner of the inheritance being divided" (Obv. 1-2). Two individuals, *Ḫu-ut-na-aḫ-te* and *Pu-di-mu-nu*, are thereupon named as the inheritors of landed property (3-7), slaves (8, 11-13), and a sum of silver (9), in two specific allotments. A second part of the document (Obv. 17 - Rev. 4) is instead concerned with the agreement relevant to this division, and thus shows a structure fully corresponding to that of a judicial settlement (cf. nos. 58, 60, above, for the formulae *šulmu ina birtešunu*, *mannu ša ibballakatūni*, etc.). Rev. 5-22 are constituted by a long list of witnesses, bearing mainly Egyptian, some Assyrian, and perhaps one Aramaic name (^{I}*Bak-ki-e*, Obv. 16), plus the date (18/V/eponymy of Sîn-šarru-uṣur, A.BA KUR = 622 B.C., according to M. Falkner, *AfO* 17, 120).

Aramaic

On top edge, "a very faint Aramaic note alongside a fingernail impression" (Postgate, *FNALD*, p. 116). Four graphemes:

$$b^{r}y^{\neg}t^{?}\ ,$$

Notes. The contents of this text in cuneiform, together with the

229. Postgate, *FNALD*, p. 116, reads this onomastic formation as = *La-mār-šarri-Aššur*, and considers it "Assyrian-Aramaic and thus a little unexpected in view of the Egyptian names of the two inheritors". However, cf. B. Menzel, *AT*, II, T182:74 for an unpublished Assur text bearing a slightly variant version of the name, further provided with a much more "Assyrianizing" transliteration, *La-turu-man-ni-Aš-šur*.

personal names attested in it, provide us with an important insight into the micro-sociology of the Assyrian empire. We have here an Egyptian family from the latter years of the empire itself, fully integrated on one hand within the Assyrian "landscape" (the property is adjoining "the royal road for the cultic 'marathon'", *ḫarrān šarre ša lismu*, Obv. 5), on the other hand relatively tight-knit in its social links (the names of the slaves also present some Egyptian elements, Obv. 12-13; and many Egyptian names are in the witness list), even apart from the requirements of allegiance to the dominant cultural-political element (cf. the name of the father). In other words, we have here the "snapshot" of a group of foreigners in permanent residence in the Assyrian countryside: well integrated in, and faithful to, the local milieu, but at the same time retaining their previous cultural links and specifities -as also would seem to have been the case for *mṣry* ("the Egyptian") son of *srldr* (=Šarru-lū-dāri, "may the king be durable!") in no. 51, above.

This background is only slightly -but interestingly- enhanced by the presence of an Aramaic epigraph. For the use of third parties, or perhaps for the beneficiaries of the inheritance division themselves, a one-word summary gave the essentials of the attached document: my reading is *byt'*, "the estate". The reproduction of the signs by Postgate is clear enough to legitimate this reading: while graph IV is obvious as an aleph, and graph I is *b/d/r*, the third sign may be viewed as a taw crossed on the bottom by a random scratch in the clay. The most problematical sign is the second: it could be a gimel, but -in view of the faded character of the entire epigraph- I would suggest a semi-abraded yod. Other

solutions are, moreover, wanting, given the extreme length of all personal names concerned, and the totally different appearance of Aramaic words for the juridical elements of the text, such as, e.g., "portion" (*ḥlq*) and "inheritance" (*yrt*), etc. Only the noun *dgl'*, signifying "a subdivision of a military colony...consisting of foreign reservists"[230] might equally well fit the signs -and would not lack in fascination from the historical viewpoint, in the light of its later attestation at Elephantine. However, this solution seems quite far-fetched; and my preference goes, all told, to the former one. Vattioni (cit., above) read *rḥpy'* (?): but I see nothing -in the cuneiform as well as in the alphabetic text- to justify this version.

230. *DISO*, 55.

F. QUOTES FROM UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL[231]

I. Ismail and Postgate, n.d., no. 1. "A tablet in the Mosul Museum found in 1971/2 in Nineveh".

Assyrian. Conveyance text. "The seller is called ^{I}*Za-ab-di-i* and he is TA ŠÀ URU.ŠE $^{I.d}$PA-ḪAL-*a-ni*" (i.e. 'from the village of Nabû-šīmanni').

Aramaic. On right edge:

dnt zbdy mn kpr nbšmn

Translation

"Deed of Zabdî from the village of Nabû-šimanni".

Notes. The quotations above derive from a personal communication by Mr. J.N. Postgate (cf. foreword for acknowledgements). For URU.ŠE = Neo-Assyrian *kapru* = Aramaic *kpr*, cf. ad no. 18, above.

231. Cf. the foreword for the origin of this material.

II. Ismail and Postgate, n.d., no. 6. "IM 76885, also from Nineveh".

Assyrian. Unspecified, possibly envelope of contract. "Line 1 reads NA_4.KIŠIB ^{I}ÌR-^{d}PA" (i.e. 'Seal of Urad-Nabû').

Aramaic. On right edge:

'grt 'rdnbw

Translation

"Contract of 'Urad-Nabû".

Notes. Quotations as in no. I, above. For *'grt*, cf. Part One, 1.3, above. The personal name presents here the expected form, against the variant attestation of no. 30, above.

* * *

a-h : *The Brussels tablets.*

Preliminary note. As stated in the foreword, I will provide here quotes from a few of the 24 Aramaic texts from Neo-Assyrian times held in the *Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis* of Brussels, for which publication has been more than once announced by E. Lipiński. The sources for the information here collected are the following, for which abbreviative *sigla* in the form of Roman

numerals are given:

(I) E. Lipiński, *Textes juridiques et économiques araméens de l'époque sargonide*, *Acta antiqua* 22 (1974), 373-384[232].

(II) Id., *SAIO* I, 1975, passim;

(III) Id., nešek *and* tarbīt *in the Light of Epigraphical Evidence*, *OLP*, 10 (1979), 133-141;

(IV) Id., *Les temples néo-assyriens et les origines du monnayage* in: E. Lipiński (Ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II, Leuven 1979, 563-588.

In the following, these publications will -as said- be quoted only by progressive numeral and page numbers. I hereby acknowledge Prof. Lipiński's courtesy for having put his scientific results at the disposal of interested scholars even during the progress of his research.

a. *O.* 3647.

Described in I, 382 as similar to Assur 5 and 6 (=nos. 50 and 51, above): silver loan with 25% interest rate. Lines 1-3 quoted in IV, 583: *ksp šql[n? x] lhdd ʿl šhrwry*. Cf. also d,g, below, for the formulae and the onomastics.

b. *O.* 3650.

In I, 382 it is stated that this silver-loan contract "précise que l'emprunteur a pris un lingot de trois sicles": but cf. IV, 574[47] for the modification of the reading *pt šqln* III to *zpt šqln* III, "loan of three shekels". For the term *zpt*, notice that it should also be attested in one of two contracts of Harranay (for whom cf. no. 59, above), i.e. either *O.* 3568 or *O.* 3569 (as stated in I, 381). A further quote of this text (ll. 1-2) is given in IV, 573: *ksp zy ḥrqy rsh zy ʾšr ʾrbʾl*. Counter to Lipiński's interpretation, "argent, que l'orfèvre a purifié, d'Istar d'Arbèles", I have elsewhere[233] translated this text as "silver, belonging to Ḥ-RQY [=(ʾa)ḥ(ī)-raqî, from *RḤY], (as offering of) first-fruits for Ištar of Arba'il", i.e. understanding *rsh* as the alphabetic equivalent of Assyrian SAG^{MEŠ} = *rešēti*, "offerings of first-fruits"[234].

232. Also published -with same page numbering- in the volume *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im alten Vorderasien*, ed. by J. Harmatta and G. Komoroczy, Budapest 1976.

c. *O.* 3651.

Loan-contract for straw. The quantity is expressed in "*maqarrāte*, tout comme dans les textes akkadiens" (I, 382).

d. *O.* 3652.

Loan of silver (one shekel), with interest rate of 100%, according to I, 382. In IV, 581, the full quote of lines 1-4 is: *ksp rsh lhdd* I *ntn bsy lbnn*, which I understand as "silver, (as offering of) first-fruits for Adad, 1 (shekel), Basî gave to Banuni" (cf. b, above for the interpretation).

e. *O.* 3656.

Full translation in I, 383: "2 (têtes de) petit bétail et 5

233. *OrNS* 53 (1984), 66-67.

234. Cf. footnote 117, above.

(sicles d')argent appartenant a Śēhr-nūrī pour ^{c}Amnan, fils de Mati^{c}-adad, (originaire) de Ma^{c}alnā. Le petit bétail (est preté) gratuitement jusqu'au (mois) d'Ayyar. (Il fait) 3 (têtes) pour (le mois) de *Trlt*. Quant a l'argent, son accroissement est de 1 en 1 1/2, et demi. Mois de *T[rlt]* de l'eponyme Dadi, le *masennu*" (7 names of witnesses follow)[235]. In III, 138, the central formula is given in normalized fashion: *qānā' lă-mattănăn lă-'ayyār*, with translation: "the sheep (will be counted) for gratuitous loans up to (the month of) 'Ayyar". I would rather translate the clause understanding *lmtnn* as an *l*-prefix imperfect from *MTN, in the meaning "to delay, to go slow", etc.[236], and presumably in a stem

235. That the alphabetic text has *mšn* may be gained from a further contribution by Lipiński, *La correspondance des sibilantes dans les textes araméens et les textes cunéiformes néo-assyriens*, in P. Fronzaroli (Ed.), *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale di linguistica camito-semitica*, Firenze 1978, 203, second list, first item. For the problem of sibilants, cf. Part One, 2.3.a, above. The attestation is, however, very interesting for Akkadian studies, in view of the uncertainty concerning the exact rendering of the noun **mašennu*, which is surely *masennu* at Nuzi, and also surely *mašennu* in Neo-Babylonian, but seems consistently written with the use of the Syllabogram *maš/mas* in Neo-Assyrian documents: cf. *CAD* M/1, 363-364. The eponym Daddi, *masennu*, is ranged by M. Falkner, *AfO* 17 (1954-56), 119 at 620 B.C. For the toponym *m^{c}lnh*, cf. also text g, below. The same place name is attested in the cuneiform texts from Brussels as *Mallanat(e), as may be desumed from P. Garelli, article quoted in fns. 17, 218, above. The correspondence of alphabetic *-h* = cuneiform *-Vt* is discussed in Part One, 2.3.b, above.

236. Cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 863a, for the root.

with passive meaning: "the sheep may be delayed until (the month of) Ayyar". The names of the contracting parties are the same as in g, below (see also a, above).

f. *O.* 3714.

Text of the archive of Ḥudday (I, 379), with mention of a man named "Qāt-ilāni". For Ḥudday, cf. possibly nos. 24, 25, above.

g. *O.* 3716.

Lines 1-5 are given in IV, 581: *ksp rsh lhdd zy ntn šhrwry l^{c}mn br mt^{c}dd mn m^{c}lnh ksp šqln* III. My translation (cf. b, d, above): "Silver, (as offerings of) first-fruits for Adad, which Śēhr-nūrī gave to ^{c}Amnan, son of Mati^{c}-(A)dad from Ma^{c}alnat[237]: 3 shekels of Silver". See also II, 104.

h. *O.* 3717.

Loan of silver with pledge of land (I, 382-383), with mention of the term *rahan* (cf. no. 13, above). Partial translation (ibid.): "Le gage, terre d'une propriété de trois (*imērē*), ^{c}Amana l'a pris a Abī-natan pour trois sicles d'argent". See also II, 66.

237. Cf. fn. 233, above.

I N D E X E S

i. Personal names

'bzqy (?), 13:R.5

'dᶜr, 54:R.4

'drmmy, 58:R.8

'dsy, 49:R.3

['])hbn, 49:R.3

'kdy, 47:3

'llhz[y, 24

'lmlk, 23

'lmmny, 53:2; 54:1,2; 55:2; 56:1; 57:1.

'lntn, 58:R.10

'lqb, 49:3

'mᶜzr, 13:1

'm?/s?rḫm, 13:2

'sy, 51:3

'srslmḫ, 46:2; 47:2 (*srslmḫ*); 48:2

'pldd , 51:R.3

'pldn, 50:R.1

'pldryb (?), 50:R.2

'q[r', 8

'rbldr, 7:2

'rblsr, 27

'rdnbw, F:II

'rd'[š], 5:L.H.E.

'šrtb, 26

bldn, 46:R.3; 47:R.2

blzr, 50:3

blsr'ṣr, 46:R.H.E.1; 47:R. (*blsrṣr*); 48:R.2

blšy, 50:2

bnn, F:d

bsy, F:d

[gb'ln](?) , 6:3

gbmr, 49:R.5

dd', 49:R.4
ddbn, 46:R.4; 47:L.H.E.1
dynkrb'l', 1

hddsmmy, 53:3
hwš^{c}, 5:U.E.

zbdy, F:I
zbn, 21:2
zr^{c}*l*, 53:R.5

ḥblkn, 51:5
ḥbš, 17:L.H.E.
ḥz'l, 60
ḥzg, 53:R.6; 57:R.1
ḥknb, 16:1
ḥmṭṭ, 3:3
[*ḥ*]*nnym*$^{?}$/*w*$^{?}$, 13:1
ḥqby, 13:R.2
ḥrqy, F: b

ṭ[*bwn*, 2

[*y'š (?)*], 6:2
yd^{c}*l*, 50:R.3
[*y*]*š*^{c}, 37:2(?)

klbyd'l, 58:1,6
knny, 49:R.6; 52:3,R.1

lqḥ, 17:1
lqp, 48:R.4

mwdd, 13:R.6
mng'sr, 46:R.2; 47:R.4,L.H.E.1
mng'rbl, 28:1
mnḥm, 20
mnn, 56:R.5
mṣry, 51:R.5
[*mrd*]*k*$^{?c}$*šny*, 25:1
mrqḥt', 14:R.
mty, 54:2
mt^{c}*dd*, F:e; F:g
mt^{c}*hdd*, 38:1
mt^{c}<*š*>*y*, 54:R.3
msyh, 52:1

nbdry, 15:3
nbwdlh, 53:3
nbwsmdn, 19:U.E.
nbwšlm, 8
nbzrbn, 9:2
[*nb (?)*]*zry*, 18
nbsrṣr, 3:7
nbšmm, F:II

nn', 46:4
nny, 51:R.4; 52:2,3
nsḫnghy, 58:3, R.2
nsḫ[^{c}]*my*, 13:R.3
nsḫryb, 58:R.7
nškly, 13:R.4

sb'sr, 48:3
sgl , 55:4
sr'š, 33:2
srgrnr, 58:4
srldr, 51:R.6
srnry, 9:R.2
srslmḥ, cf. *'srslmḥ*
srsrd, 49:R.4

^{c}*bd'*, 49:R.2
^{c}*wyr*, 58:R.7
^{c}*z (?)*, 13:R.2
^{c}*zrn'l*, 13:R.H.E.1,2; 58:1,7
^{c}*mmn*, F: e; F: g
^{c}*rdnbw*, 30
^{c}*trm*[*lk* (?), 4

pdy, 54:R.1
pqn'rb'l, 33:1
prbḫr, 51:R.4

qbt$^{?}$*'š*, 48:R.3
qyrḥ, 53:R.4

rsl, 49:2
r^{c}*dd*, 53:R.7

š'mt^{c}, 29
šgb, 50:R.4
šhrnwry, F:a; F:e
šlm'sr, 49:R.1
šmšdlh, 49:R.7
šmšyb, 58:R.9
šnn'd, 49:1,4
šnngh (?), 13:3
šrdrq'l, 31
šrkn, 2

tqn, 47:R.5
tqny, 46:3
tty (?), 9:2

[]*dlrn*, 54:R.2
[]*ysy*, 51:2

ii. Divine names

'šr, F:b

hdd, F:a; F:d; F:g

šhr, 58:Rev.5

iii. Toponyms

'glh, 49:2

ḥdwh, 3:3; 6:4 (*ḥ[dwh]*)

ḥm^{c}, 23

kpr, 18

kpr nbsmn, F:I

m^{c}lnh, F:c

mt rbšqn, 16

^{c}yrn, 9:3

qšt, 59

iv. Month names

'yr, F:e

smnh, 50:5

sb', 51:4

sb^{c}, 54:4

tṣrh, 49:7

trlt, F: e (cf. ad 46)

v. General vocabulary

'grt, "document", 21:1; 35; F:II

'dr, "threshing-floor", 48:5; 53,5.

'ḥz, "to take (legally)", 17

'm I, "mother", 24

'm II, "boundary-stone, line", 58:2, 5

'mh, "handmaid, female slave",17

'nš, "people", 5:L.H.E.

'rb^{c}t, "four", 51:1

'rq, "land", 11:1'; 23

'št, "marriage", 30

b, "on, for", passim

br, "son" : + NOUN, 3:2; 6:2; 7:1; 9:1
+ NAME, 38:1; 46:3; 49:2; 51: R.5; F:g

brh, "daughter", 14:B.E.

byn, "between", 45; 58:R.3

byt, "house", 16:1(?); 28:2; 44; 61(?)

dnh, "conveyance text", passim (cf. I.2)

dndb (?), 14:B.E.

hykl, "palace", 43

hn, "if", 53:4

w, "and", passim

z, "this", 53:5

zwz, "half (-shekel)", 58:R.2

zy, "of, which", passim

zpt, F:b

ḥbl, "obligation (?)", 54:3; 55:R.1

ḥd, "one", 17:U.E.

ḥzn, "mayor", 49:2

ḥzr, 52: Side,1

ḥyy, "life", 58:R.5

ḥṣd, "harvester", 3:5; 9:R.1; 47:R.1; 49:6

ḥql, "field", 10:1; 16:1; 18; 32; 37:1.

ḥtm, "seal", 49:1

ṭ^{c}m, Haph. "to give a decision", 58:5

yd, "arm/hand", 45:1

yhb, "to give", 49:R.7

ywm, "day", 13:5

y^{c}l, "to return", cf. ad 13

yrḥ, "month", 49:6; 50:4; 51:4

yšb, "to (re)turn", 58:R.4

ksp, "silver, sum", 13:3,6; 17:U.E. ; 21:1; 28:3; 50:2; 51:2; 58:R. ; F:a; F:b; F:d; F:g

kpr, "village", 18: F:I (cf. index iii)

krm, "vineyard", 29

l, "to, from, *nota accusativi*", passim

lbb, "heart", 45:2

lm, *l'm*, "eponym(y)", 3:6; 9:R.2; 49:R.1; 58:4

lqḥ, "to take", 49:4

mlk, "king", 3:2; 5:2 ; 7:2 ; 9:2; 58:R.6

mn I, "from", 3:3; 6:3 ; 9:3; 10; 12; 17:R.H.E. ; 38:1; F:g

mn II, "whoever", 53:R.1; 58:R.4

mnh, "mina", 17:U.E.

mšn, "steward" or sim., F:e and fn. 235

mt, "land", 11:B.E.1(?): 16:2

mtn, "to be slow, to delay", F:e

ntn, "to give", 48:R.1; 51:R.2; F:b; F:g

skl, "vizir", 49:R.2

snh, "deputy", 3:1; 6:1

spr I, "deed", 60

spr II, "scribe", 49:R.6

ʿl, "against", passim

qdm, "in front, over, against", 28:2; 55:3; 58:3

qn', "sheep", F:e

qrb, "to be close", 53:R.1

qšr, "bundle", 15:1

rby I, "to increase", 50:4; 51:3; 55:R.3

rby II, "increase", 49:5

rbsrs, "chief eunuch", 3:6

rbʿ, "one-fourth", 50:3; 51:3

rbšqn, "chief cupbearer(s)", 16:2

rhn I, "pledge", F:h

rhn, II, "to pledge", 13:2

rsh, "first-fruits", F:b; F:d; F:g

š, "of", 30; 37:1(?)

šhd, "witness", passim

šwq, "street, market", 12:2(?)

šwm, "to place", 58:2

šlm, "peace, settlement", 58:R.3; 60

šʿrm, "barley", passim

šql I, "shekel", 13:4; 17:U.E.; 50:1; 51:1; 52, passim; 58:R.1; F:a; F:b; F:g

šql II, "to pay", 58:6

tḫm, "limit, boundary", 58:5

vi. Numerical graphemes

1 : 47:R.1; 49:5; 52, passim; F:d

1,5 : 49:5

2 : 49:3; 52:5; 54:3; 55:1

3 : F:b; F:g

3,3 : 47:4

3,6 : 46:4,R.1

4 : 54:3

4,8 : 48:4

5 : 3:4; 5; 9:3,R.1; 53:1

6 : 5:L.H.E.; 9;4

6,5 : 3:4

7 : 5:L.H.E.; 11:6' (?)

8 : 50:1

14 : 52:1 (?)

vii. Index of publications and concordances

A. Nineveh

This book	*K.* Coll. number	*EA/* Ep.Ar.	*CIS* II/1	*ABC*	*ADD*	*ARU*	*Lieb.*	Other
1	*K.* 405	1	16	1	335	337	1	
2	83-1-18,334	28	32	19	255	50	2	
3	81-2-4,147	21	38	2	129	313	3	
4	83-1-18,345	13	/	3	279	533	4	
5	*K.* 76	14	17	4	229	64	5	
6	*K.*3784	22	40	25	130	327	6	
7	*Rm.* 909	24	41	/	/	/	7	
8	*K.* 3788	3	25	47	/	/	8	*AGS*, 120
9	*K.* 3785	23	39	/	/	/	9	
10	*K.* 8528	18	27	23	613	403	10	
11	*Rm.* 188	31	35	/	/	/	11	
12	*D.T.* 88	/	/	/	/	/	12	*Iraq* 45,107-8
13	81-2-4,148	26	43	/	/	/	13	
14	83-1-18,338	15	/	5	257	66	14	
15	*Sm.* 957	25	42	6	128	322	15	
16	80-7-19,348+	30	31	18	429	105	30	
17	*K.* 281	12	19	7	233	208	16	
18	80-7-19,52	32	/	8	387	34	17	
19	83-1-18,329	16	29	9	533	564	18	
20	81-2-4,152	5	33	20	245	81	19	

This book	*K.* Coll. number	*EA/ Ep.Ar.*	*CIS* II/1	*ABC*	*ADD*	*ARU*	*Lieb.*	Other
21	82-5-22,176	19	30	10	25	268	20	
22	*K.* 458	29	/	24	476	185	21	
23	*Sm.* 921	11	28	22	378	429	22	
24	*K.* 331	9	18	15	250	72	23	
25	*Bu.*91-5-9,182	33	/	21	249	84	24	
26	81-2-4,395	6	36	26	562	595	25	
27	*K.* 309a	8	22	14	207	509	26	
28	*K.* 318	7	20	16	39	299	27	
29	83-1-18,385	27	/	27	522	380	28	
30	*K.* 320	4	15	11	711	55	29	
31	*K.* 329	10	23	12	318	632	31	*FNALD*, no.12
32	*K.* 421	17	24	13	623	120	32	
33	*K.* 305	2	21	17	327	358	33	
34	*K.* 1466	34	/	/	267	551	34	
35	*K.* 8529	20	37	28	156	333	35	
36	*K.* 15332	/	/	/	/	/	36	*AJSL* 42, 273
37	*BM* 121043	/	/	/	/	/	/	*Iraq* 34, 133
38	*BM* 123359	/	/	/	/	/	/	*Iraq* 34, 134
39	1904-10-9,57a	/	/	/	/	/	/	*AJSL* 42, 181
40	*K.* 13072	/	/	/	489	382	/	
41	95-4-6, 45	/	/	/	694	/	/	
42	*K.* 5700	/	/	/	540	667	/	

B. Kalhu

This book	*ND* number	Previous publication	Vattioni
43	2346	*Iraq* 34, 131-132	*Ep.Ar.*, 161
44	2347	*Iraq* 34, 132	*Ep.Ar.*, 162
45	2348(-2349)	*Iraq* 34, 132-133	*Ep.Ar.*, 163-164

C. Assur

This book	*VA/VAT* number	*AUA*, no.	*SAIO* I, pages	Other	Vattioni
46	7496	1	83-90		*Ep.Ar.*, 143
47	7499	2	90-91	*KAI* 234	*Ep.Ar.*, 144
48	7497	3	92-93	*KAI* 235	*Ep.Ar.*, 145
49	7498	4	94-103	*KAI* 236	*Ep.Ar.*, 146
50	5831	5	103-108		*Ep.Ar.*, 147
51	5832	6	108-113		*Ep.Ar.*, 148
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D. Guzana

This book	*TH* Aram. number	*AfO Bh.*6, pages	*NESE* I, pages	*SAIO* I, pages	Vattioni
53	1	71-73	50-52	115-125	*Ep.Ar.*, 149
54	2	74-75	53-54	125-132	*Ep.Ar.*, 150
55	3	75-76	54-55	132-134	*Ep.Ar.*, 151
56	4	75-76	55-56	135-139	*Ep.Ar.*, 153
57	5	77-78	56	140-142	*Ep.Ar.*, 153

E. Unknown Provenance

This book	Museum (+number)	First publication	Vattioni
58	*A.O.*25.341	*Semitica* 23,95-102	*Ep.Ar.*, 190
59	Private	*Iraq* 35, 34-35	*Ep.Ar.*, 189
60	Manchester	*MCS* 2, 19	*Ep.Ar.*, 167
61	Copenh. 8612	*CTNMC*, no. 68	*Ep.Ar.*, 274

F. Unpublished Material (quotations)

This book	Museum (+number)
I	Mosul Museum
II	IM 76885
a	*O.*3647
b	*O.*3650
c	*O.*3651

This book	Museum (+number)
d	*O.*3652
e	*O.*3656
f	*O.*3714
g	*O.*3716
h	*O.*3717

Reverse concordances (*EA*, *ABC*, *CIS*, *K.* Collection)

EA, no.	This book	*ABC*, no.	This book	*CIS*, no.	This book	*K.*Coll. number	This book
1	1	1	1	15	30	*K.* 76	5
2	33	2	3	16	1	*K.* 281	17
3	8	3	4	17	5	*K.* 305	33
4	30	4	5	18	24	*K.* 309a	27
5	20	5	14	19	17	*K.* 318	28
6	26	6	15	20	28	*K.* 320	30
7	28	7	17	21	33	*K.* 329	31
8	27	8	18	22	27	*K.* 331	24
9	24	9	19	23	31	*K.* 405	1
10	31	10	21	24	32	*K.* 421	32

EA, no.	This book	*ABC*, no.	This book	*CIS*, no.	This book	*K.*Coll. number	This book
11	23	11	30	25	8	*K.* 458	22
12	17	12	31	27	10	*K.* 1466	34
13	4	13	32	28	23	*K.* 3784	6
14	5	14	27	29	19	*K.* 3785	9
15	14	15	24	30	21	*K.* 3788	8
16	19	16	28	31	16	*K.* 5700	42
17	32	17	33	32	2	*K.* 8528	10
18	10	18	16	33	20	*K.* 8529	35
19	21	19	2	35	11	*K.* 13072	40
20	35	20	20	36	26	*K.* 15332	36
21	3	21	25	37	35	*Rm.* 188	11
22	6	22	23	38	3	*Rm.* 909	7
23	9	23	10	39	9	*Sm.* 921	23
24	7	24	22	40	6	*Sm.* 957	15
25	15	25	6	41	7	*D.T.* 88	12
26	13	26	26	42	15	80-7-19, 52	18
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29	22					81-2-4, 148	13
30	16	47	8			81-2-4, 152	20

PLATES

PLATE I

Fig. 1

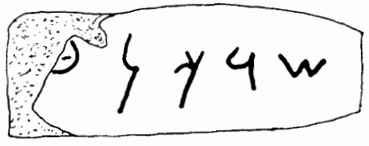


Fig. 2

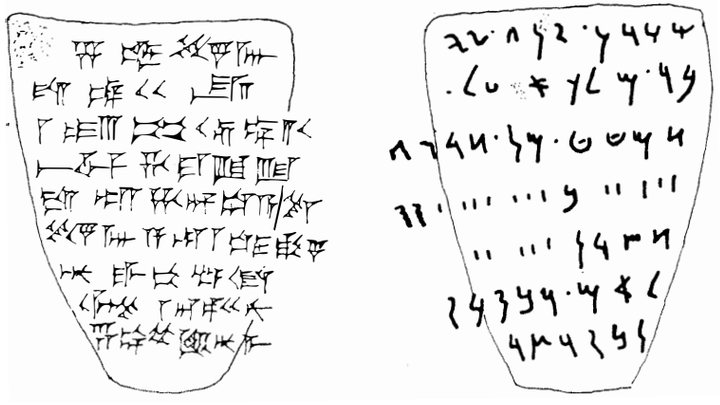
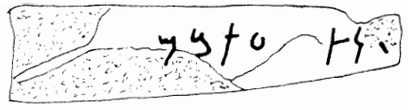


Fig. 3

PLATE II



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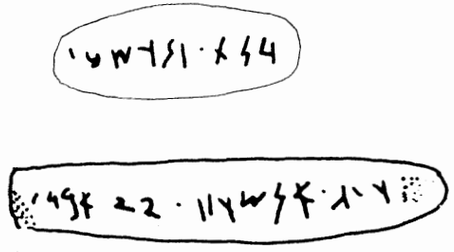

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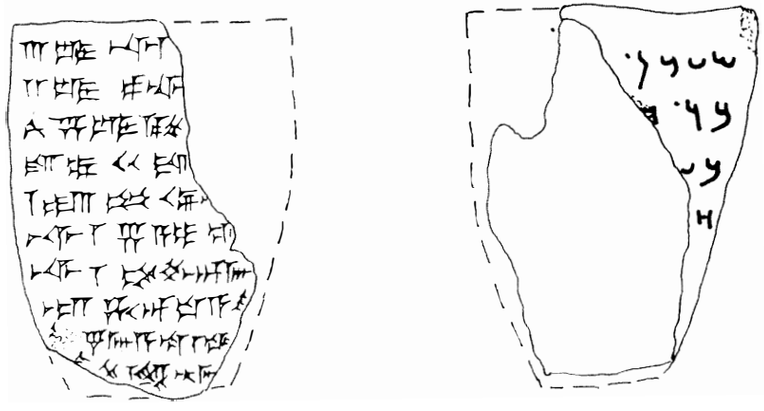

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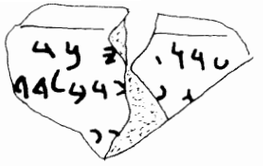


Fig. 7

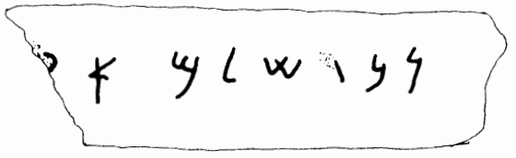


Fig. 8

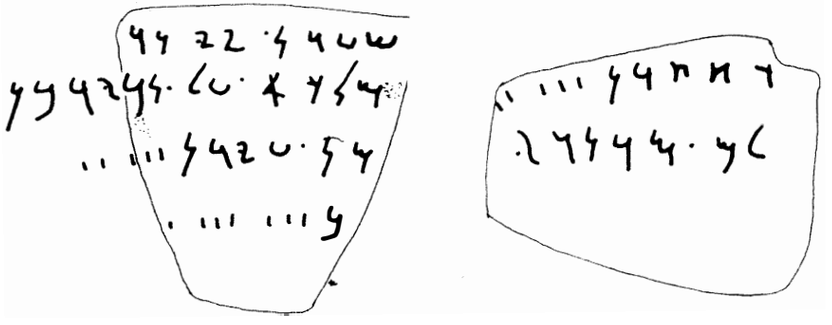


Fig. 9

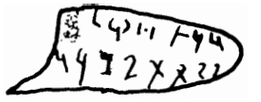


Fig. 10

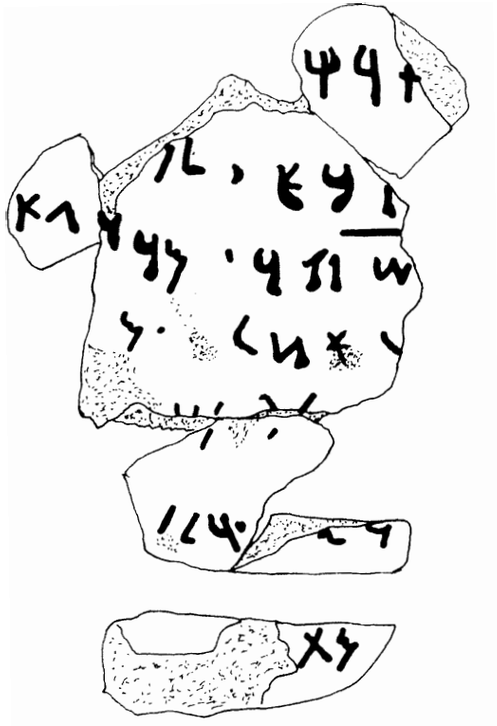


Fig. 11

Fig. 12

PLATE V

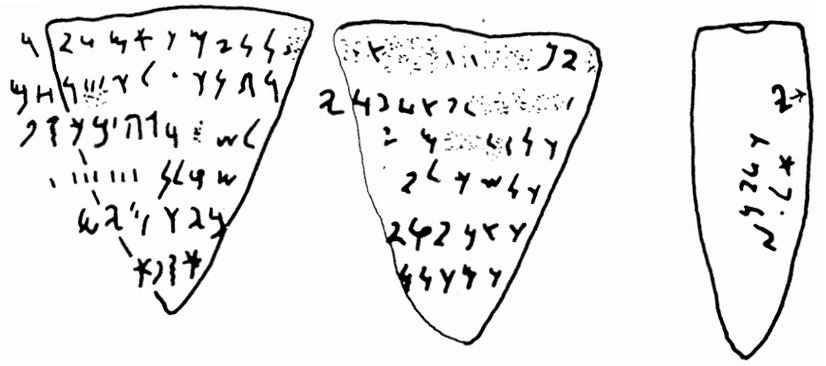
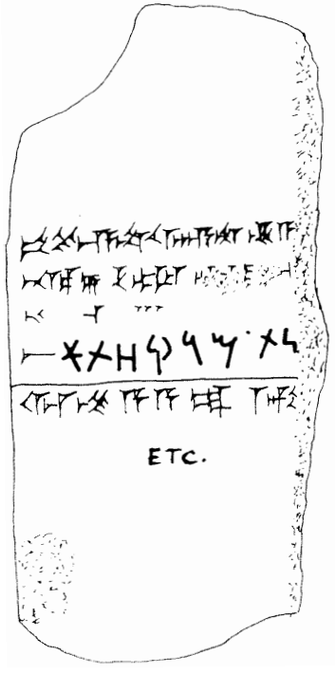


Fig. 13



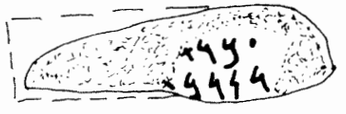
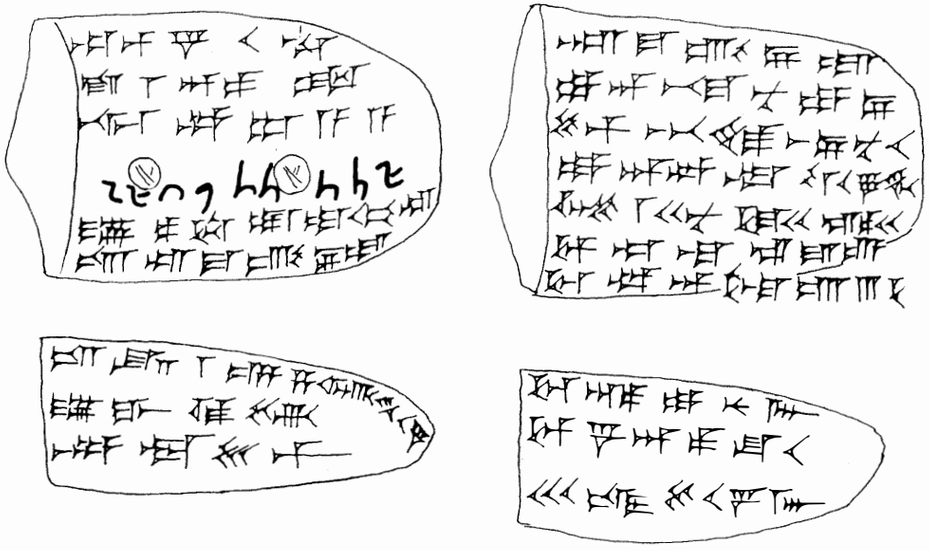


Fig. 14

PLATE VI



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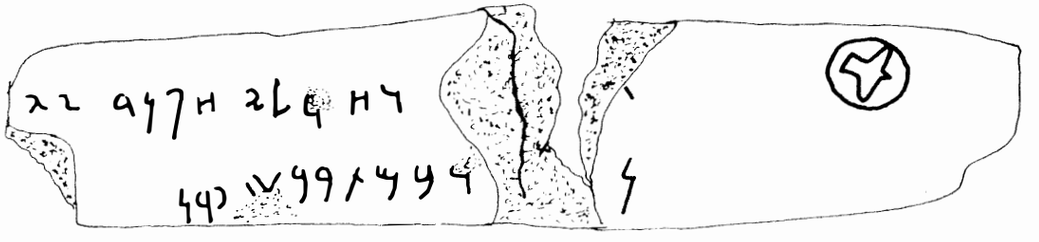
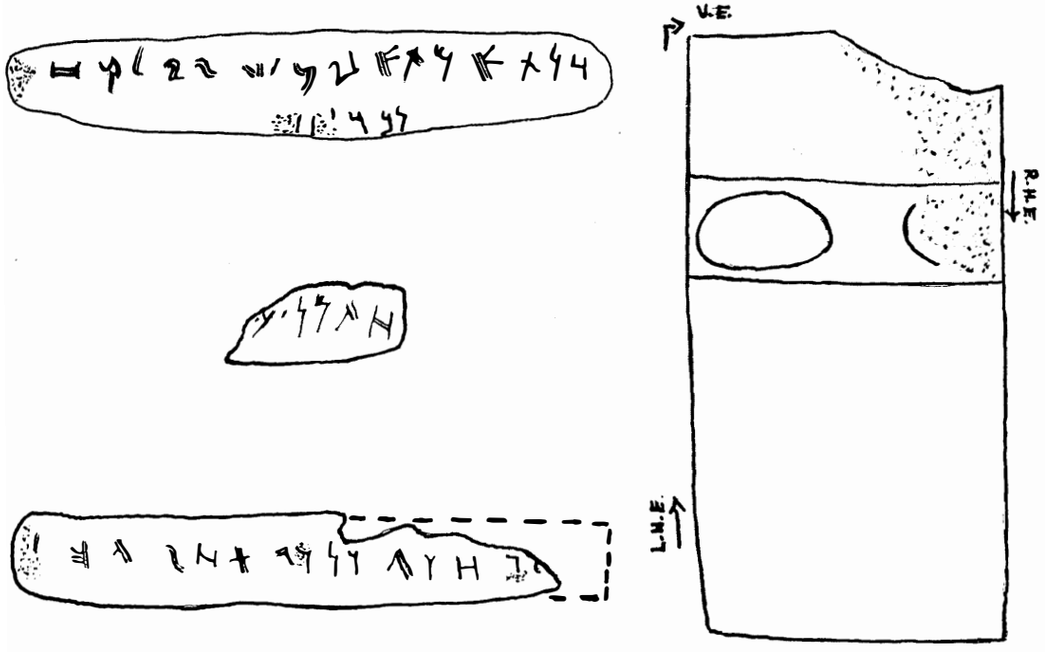


Fig. 16



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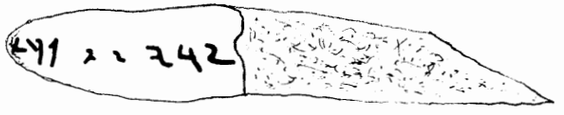

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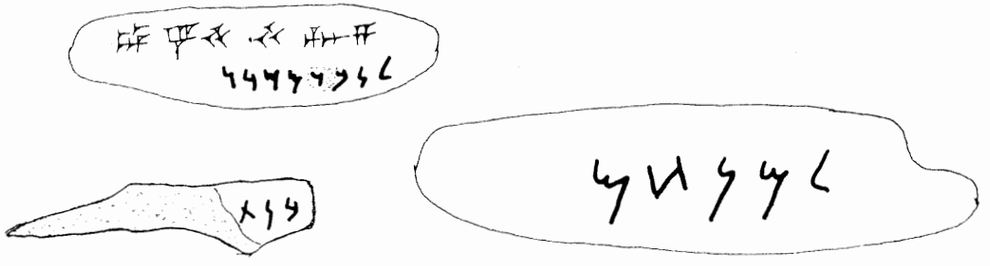
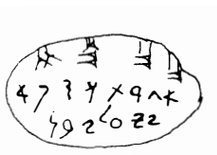


Fig. 19

Fig. 20



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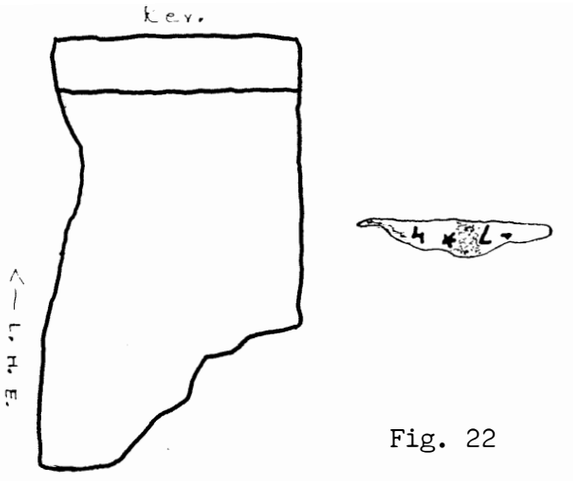

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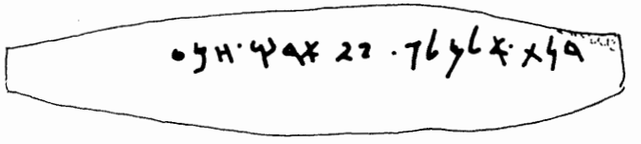

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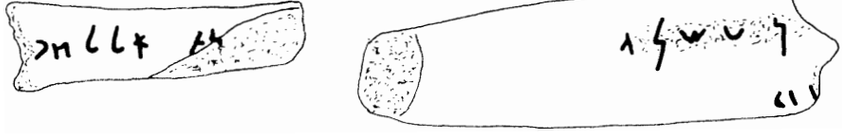


Fig. 25

Fig. 24

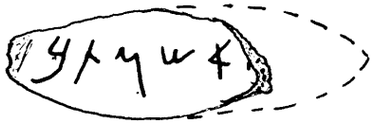
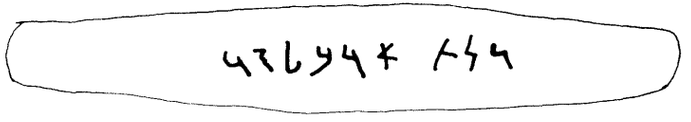


Fig. 26



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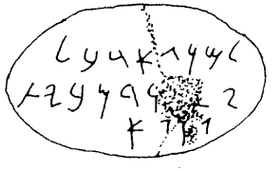

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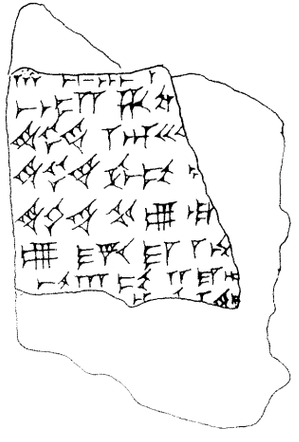

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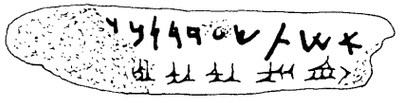

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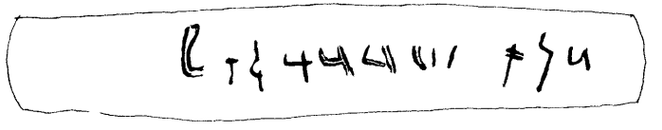

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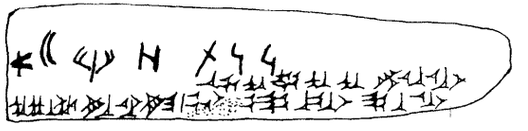


Fig. 32

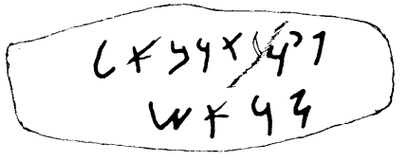


Fig. 33

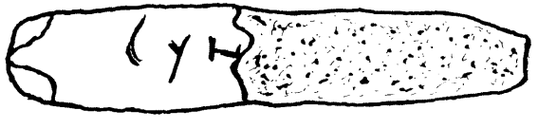


Fig. 34

PLATE XI

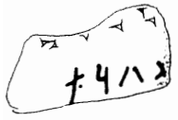


Fig. 35

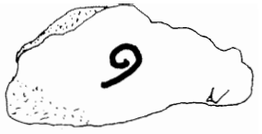


Fig. 36

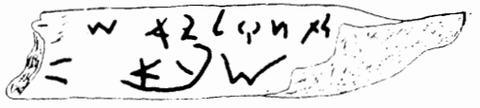


Fig. 37

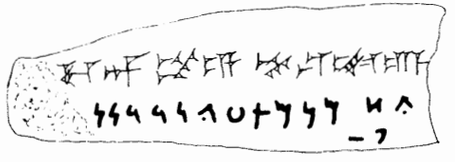


Fig. 38

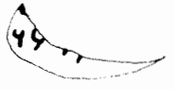


Fig. 39

PLATE XII

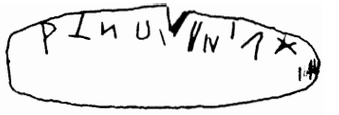


Fig. 40

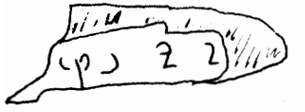
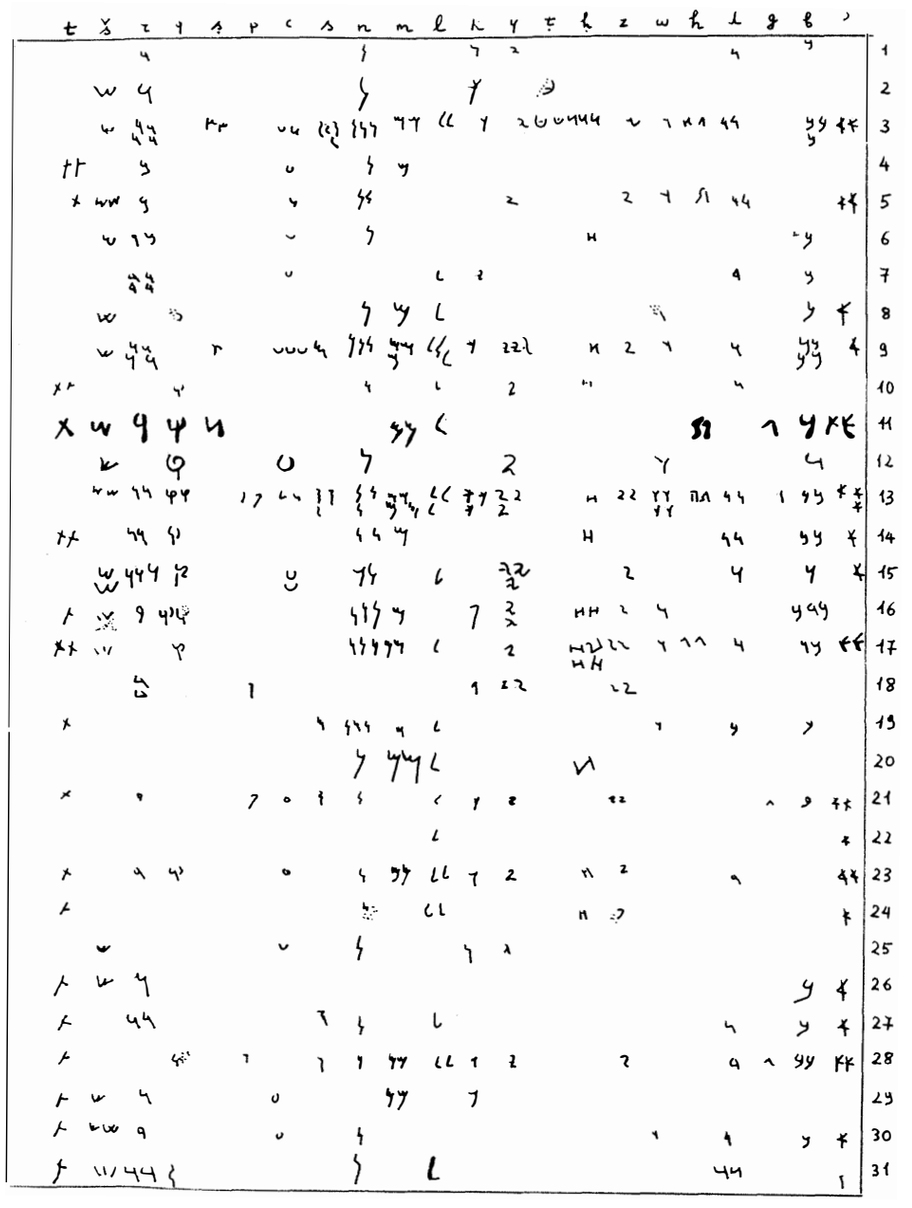


Fig. 41

Fig. 42

PLATE XIII

Scale: 1:1,35



Scale: 1:1,35

PLATE XIV

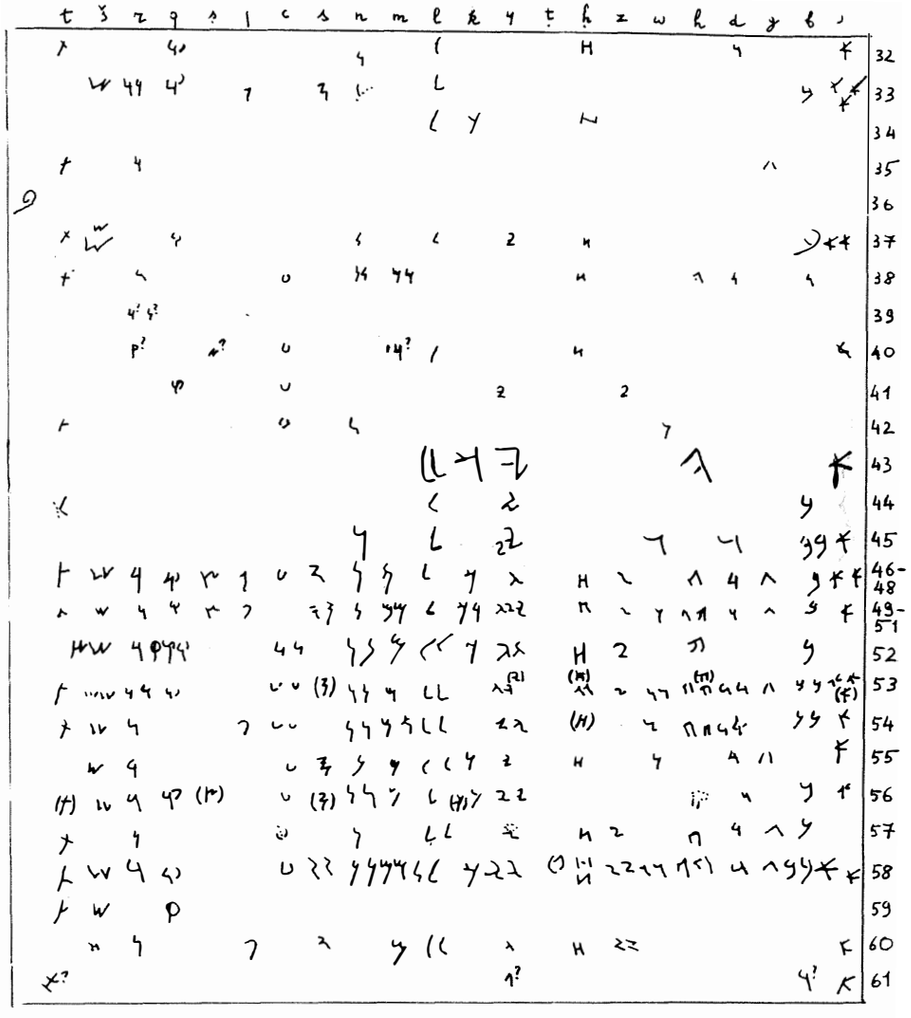


PLATE XV

1

VA 7496
No. 46

2

3

VA 7499
No. 47

4

5

VA 7497
No. 48

6

PLATE XVI

1

VA 7498
No. 49

2

VA 5832
No. 51

3

VA 5832
No. 51

4

5

VA 5831
No. 50

6

PLATE XVII

1

VAT 8724
No. 52

2